

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 8, NO. 16

MARCH 21-27, 1984

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Salvadoran elections:
No solution
page 11

THE **HART** OF **NEOLIBERALISM**

**The man and
the movement**

—John B. Judis page 6

**Will the Freeze
warm to Hart?**

—Joan Walsh
page 7

THE STORY INSIDE

By David Moberg

UAW: On the road again?

UAW President Owen Bieber stuck to tradition with a tough opening speech on March 6 to the union's bargaining convention—and indirectly to Ford and General Motors, whose contracts with the UAW expire in September. But he had more than bargaining ritual to inspire him. Industry profits have soared: \$6.7 billion in 1983 after taxes, expected to rise to \$9.35 billion this year. Although employment is up, worker recalls have been slowed by extensive use of overtime. Union members who reluctantly surrendered money and benefits when the companies were down, now want it back. "Restore and more in '84" was the slogan of one rank and file group.

Bieber's blunt remarks were also spurred by an internal GM bargaining strategy paper the union obtained. These notes of GM Vice-President Alfred S. Warren, who bargains with the union, revealed that the company expected the new profit-sharing plan to take the place of both cost-of-living adjustments (COLA) and the annual improvement factor (AIF), a traditional 3 percent automatic increase linked to national productivity trends that started 35 years ago but was given up in the latest contract. GM also wanted "multi-tier" wages and benefits (paying newer workers less), changes in local work rules and rights to transfer, and an end to the "pilot employment guarantee" plan (after numerous rejections by workers, one such plan was approved recently by a Michigan Ford local).

GM even hoped to end the triennial bargaining, as it gave greater emphasis to "joint problem-solving." But it rejected any infringement on its decisions about subcontracting, moving production overseas or other "sourcing" policies. By rapidly introducing new technology and aggressively cutting labor costs, GM hoped to increase productivity 8.5 percent annually.

Warren planned a strong public relations campaign to counter publicity that could irritate workers, such as high profits, joint U.S.-Japan ventures and "whipsawing between plants to get lower costs." He planned literature for employees to counter the "restore and more" arguments. And he put great stock in continued informal talks with Donald Ephlin, head of the union's GM division. Such chats would soften the union's demands, and Ephlin in turn would moderate the union's secondary leadership, Warren figured.

Bieber and the bargaining convention insisted that profit-sharing was an addition to, not a substitute for, COLA and the AIF. But there is always the possibility that the AIF will be defined in a different, more flexible way. Resisting pressure to set specific goals, Bieber pledged to restrict overtime and at least begin again to follow the road toward a shorter work week from which the union abruptly detoured when it dropped the paid personal holidays in the concession contracts.

Although Bieber pledged to control "outsourcing," some UAW staff doubt that great progress can be made on controlling production without a long strike that the union and workers may not be prepared to take. Along the lines of the proposed domestic content legislation, the union could set its own standards for domestic content on all small cars as a way of staunching the new flow of small car production by and for American companies to Japan and the newly industrializing countries, like Korea and Mexico. In addition, the union could demand veto power over major sourcing decisions.

But it will probably be easier for the company and the union to settle on a large wage increase. The company can easily absorb it on its big cars and blame wages for its decisions to get small cars overseas. The union will probably win increased pensions—although probably not the \$1,500 a month at 30 years service demanded by one group. Bieber pledged continued commitment to "worker and union participation in decision-making," even though current plans have encountered local opposition.

Although union militants would have liked more specific commitments to matters like ending union-assisted absenteeism discipline and restoring the paid personal holidays, Bieber for the moment seems to have united auto workers on the road back from concessions. ■

Dynamic anti-unionism

In an era of outrageous corporate behavior, there are still a few companies that strive for distinction. General Dynamics is one of them.

Since last June 2,200 draftsmen at the Electric Boat Company subdivision of General Dynamics in Groton, Conn., have been on strike. After initially suggesting that the union accept only cost-of-living increases, the company demanded a wage freeze, a permanent cap on wages for several hundred workers and reduced pay for new employees. The union, a former independent local that affiliated with the UAW in 1982, offered to accept the earlier offer but was forced to strike.

Since then General Dynamics has brought in 300 draftsmen at premium pay. The company plans to regard them as "material" and charge on a typical cost-plus basis to the military, which is the source of 88 percent of its sales—a new taxpayer funded form of scabbing. It has also used satellite transfer of computerized drawings



UAW President Owen Bieber

to shift work to its shops in Florida and Georgia—a prime example of high-tech scabbing.

Although the union has agreed to binding arbitration, General Dynamics has shown its intent to break the union. Its last offer was a pay raise to the first 500 strikers willing to cross the picket line.

Angered by General Dynamics' arrogance and problems at other plants, the UAW has launched a corporate campaign that will unite with other unions, such as the Machinists, and work through the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. Electrical Workers (UE) organizer Ron Carver, who put together the successful Litton corporate campaign, will be assigned to it also. Next month a citizens committee, bringing in civil rights, women's and consumer groups, will also be announced.

General Dynamics is vulnerable to such attack because of recent revelations of scandals and corporate misconduct—the company sold the Air Force a 12 cent allen wrench for \$9,606. More serious—and possibly indictable—the company has been accused of deliberately "lowballing" contract bids, then grossly inflating cost overruns to obtain work and boost profits. It has been a prime and extremely profitable beneficiary of the Reagan military buildup: 1983 profits were up to 300 percent from the previous year.

Former Vice-President P. Takis Veliotis, who headed the company's shipbuilding program from 1973 to 1980, is now on the lam in Greece. He is wanted in connection with an alleged kick-back scheme that extorted money from a subcontractor, Frigitemp, which was eventually forced into bankruptcy. General Dynamics also benefited from highly inflated contracts with the Navy that were let by former assistant secretary of the Navy George A. Sawyer, now executive vice-president of General Dynamics.

But for all the money floating around on the upper decks of the company, the workers down below were treated abysmally. At its tank division, General Dynamics refused to respond to repeated UAW complaints about dangers of a solvent. Finally, a worker died, according to a coroner's report, of "cardiac arrhythmia triggered by exposure to [the solvent] in an industrial setting." In January, the Michigan attorney general concluded that General Dynamics' actions were of a criminal nature and began a criminal investigation of the company.

The corporate campaign was kicked off with a rally of 1,000 unionists in St. Louis, General Dynamics' headquarters, and followed by the first of many planned appearances at stockholder meetings of companies that have interlocking directors with General Dynamics. At the Esmark annual meeting, flustered corporate officers were asked to investigate Lester Crown, the principal stockholder in General Dynamics and an Esmark director, to see whether he was a suitable director, given General Dynamics' record. Another big target coming up is Consolidated Foods, whose chairman, Nathan Cummings, is the second largest General Dynamics stockholder. Consolidated Foods is already the object of a corporate campaign by the Clothing and Textile Workers in connection with their organizing of Hanes garment workers in the South.

Although no consumer boycotts of these interlocked companies are planned, the corporations are pointedly warned that they may suffer from consumer backlash.

The unions may call for congressional investigations of General Dynamics and try to have the company debarred from government contracts because of its behavior. The corporate campaign is not simply aimed at forcing a reasonable settlement of the strike. The UAW wants a corporate code of good behavior prohibiting strike-breaking and anti-union activity, commitments to improve health and safety and an end to taxpayer ripoffs.

With the partial successes of corporate campaigns against Litton and Beverly nursing homes, the new General Dynamics campaign marks a significant step forward in labor's use of this strategy. There are other companies that share some, if not all, of General Dynamics' distinction and deserve the same treatment. ■

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Illinois: a primary of many tests

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

POLITICS HERE TOOK ON AN even more volatile character than usual as the vagaries of red-hot local politics blended with the shifting fortunes of the two remaining heavyweight Democratic presidential candidates and the one remaining serious symbolic candidate as the March 20 Illinois primary approached. It loomed as a test of whether Hart's base of younger, more affluent voters could be swelled to victory in a new area—the Midwestern industrial heartland—by enough defectors from what should have been a population sympathetic to Mondale's candidacy. But it also loomed as a test in Chicago between the reform political movement led by Mayor Harold Washington and the remnants of the old machine.

Here Mondale could count certain theoretical advantages. For what it is worth, he is a fellow Midwesterner. More important, Mondale could hope that the labor movement—representing 30 percent of the workforce—would do better for him here than it did in the Northeast. After all, union voters next door in Iowa gave Mondale a strong edge as they did in Alabama and, to a lesser extent, Georgia.

Also, Illinois Democrats have been traditionalist, even conservative. In the last presidential primary, for example, they chose Carter over Kennedy by a wide margin. Mondale is a familiar quantity and should have gained by that. He also has begun hammering at Hart's foreign policy from the right—attacking him for not identifying Cuba as "totalitarian" and for calling for reduction in U.S. troop levels in Europe—while hitting him from the left on arms control. That may play well to older, rural or urban ethnic voters, but it is not likely to cut into Hart's own growing base among younger, better-educated voters.

Illinois' economy, reliant on depressed heavy industry and farming, has come out of the recession slowly. Voters' biggest worry is unemployment, according to polls. Mondale should be able to play to that worry better than Hart—and he is in trouble if he doesn't.

In theory, the Chicago Democratic organization endorsement of Mondale should have counted as a clincher, but this year it could have been a clinker, since the machine is weakened in large parts of the city and held in contempt more widely. In some machine strongholds, precinct captains will be far more interested in local party contests, neglecting presidential politics. Also, in a move that mixed reform with obvious personal political benefit, Mayor Washington ordered an end to the tradition that city workers could take off on election day, reducing at least slightly the 8,000 or so machine political operatives who usually leave their jobs.

More important, Mondale needed, but could not count on, the black vote—13 percent of the state's population, a much higher percentage of Democrats. This is Jesse Jackson's home. He is both loved and hated here, even among blacks. Pre-election polls showed Jackson taking at least half and probably more of the black vote. Mondale probably fares best among older, more traditional blacks. Jackson is favored among local leaders and activists as well as the young (many of whom resent Mondale's endorsement of State's Attorney Richard Daley against Washington last year). Hart has barely been

considered by most blacks.

Washington has finessed the pressures to endorse Jackson in a shrewd way that maximizes his own strength. He decided to run favorite-son slates in six congressional districts (with strong chances in three), thus shutting Jackson out of winning delegates. But he expressed his "preference" for Jackson in the "beauty contest" primary vote. Washington made it clear that was different from an endorsement. He wants to go to the convention with a power base that will permit him to bargain over Democratic urban policy and, possibly, the nominee. If his support were too weak for the hometown candidate, he would offend his core supporters; if it were too strong, he could alienate his local sympathizers, white and black, who are not so enamored of Jackson. At the same time, Washington announced his own national voter-registration campaign.

speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations had been arguing for her candidate. But as she talked, she concluded, "Hart represents an excellent chance of beating Reagan. They can't tar him with the same junk." Finally, distressed and perplexed, she said, "I don't know who to vote for." John Howland, a philosophy graduate student at the same gathering, thought Mondale would be a better president and he greatly disliked Hart's attack on the labor movement. "But I'll be pragmatic," he said. "I'll vote for whoever is the most effective against Reagan."

Prairie fire cools?

Mondale may have a slight advantage in Illinois as the "prairie fire" for Hart cools slightly and people learn more about him. Among public employees, phone calls to union homes showed new Hart interest because he seemed "young,

want to jump on a bandwagon of blasting the hell out of Hart. We can't lose sight of the main battle on November 6."

A pre-election Chicago *Sun-Times* poll showed Mondale still leading Hart slightly in voters' estimates of who could beat Reagan. Yet both the Chicago *Tribune* and *Sun-Times* showed Hart leading Mondale, although his margin came from "independents," not self-identified Democrats, and particularly from younger, more affluent voters. The Hart themes, however, have taken hold: 41 percent of those surveyed by the *Sun-Times* saw Mondale as "promising too much" (5 percent for Hart) and 54 percent saw Hart representing "new ideas" (12 percent for Mondale).

Until recently there had been little interest in the Illinois primary. Even registration had slipped. While 85,000 new voters had signed up, 160,000 had been dropped from the rolls. Blacks at Jack-



In a recent Chicago *SUN-TIMES* poll, 54 percent thought Gary Hart represented "new ideas."

new and fresh," AFSCME political organizer Nancy Shier said. So the union quickly sent out fact sheets on Hart's votes for some Reagan domestic spending cuts, for ending state revenue sharing, against hospital cost containment and against other labor positions.

"People say, 'We don't know what he stands for,'" Shier said. "When they find out, people are really shocked." One active Hart supporter reversed her choice after receiving the literature.

As a way of countering the "union boss" backlash among members, Machinist telephone callers tell members, who were polled before the endorsement, that the union "took a cue from them that this was the guy they wanted. We're reminding them who they wanted and why," says Charlie Williams, who heads Midwestern political operations.

"People aren't against Mondale," Williams says. "They want someone who can win." Mondale may be uninspiring, and Hart may be running on "mystique," but Williams adds, "there's no way I

son's large rallies were not eager to plunk down cash, a striking contrast to crowds during the Washington campaign and a sign that blacks, while sympathetic, weren't taking his candidacy seriously.

Among local political workers, there is probably more interest in battles for the Democratic Party ward committeemen. Once the lords of the machine, they have little patronage or power now. In a further assault on their old political duchies, white and Hispanic independents are challenging machine committeemen in response to Washington's call to oust party chairman Ed Vrdolyak, his chief nemesis.

The reformers are not likely to win enough posts to do so without relying on some suburban breakaway regulars. At best they will end up with another machine politician as a compromise party chairman. But the independents argue that Vrdolyak's rule and continued machine policies—such as doing little to encourage registration that would upset their goal of a small but controlled vote—weakens the Democrats in Illinois, thus threatening county, state and even presidential candidates in the fall. And since Illinois, which has voted for Republican presidents since 1968, is key for a Democratic presidential victory, there are national stakes in these local battles.

Local politics has intruded into other

Continued on page 10

Even among his core supporters, Mondale faced a serious problem of confidence. Many Democrats—especially the hard-hit people who have been Mondale's primary backers—have been committed above all to beating Reagan. Mondale benefited not only from the much-discussed sense of inevitability of his nomination that has now been shattered, but also from a calculation that he had the best chance to beat Reagan. Hart has cast doubt on that, however.

A campaign worker at a Mondale

One AFSCME organizer said, "People say, 'We don't know what he stands for.' And then when they find out, people are really shocked."

IN SHORT

Strategic models

The State Department justifies its recent \$2 million sale of helicopter parts to Guatemala—a country named the “worst violator of human rights in the Western Hemisphere” by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs—partly on a document that reads more like a panegyric to military control than a human rights report. The report of UN Special Rapporteur Lord Colville is used to support the claim that the “model village counterinsurgency programs” springing up in that country help curb human rights abuses as well as increase employment. Reminiscent of the Vietnam strategic hamlets, the Guatemalan army relocates peasants to assigned villages to increase army control and in the words of Colville “evaporates the water in which the fishes [presumably guerrillas] swim.” Colville goes on to praise the “bullets and beans” program that lets the people “earn free food by work projects” during the day, when the men are not doing their obligatory civil-patrol jobs. The people, most descendants of Mayan Indians, are “by nature friendly, hard-working and long-suffering,” in Lord Colville’s words. In the last few years they built 400 kilometers of highway in return for their “free food.” Instead of “alleviating the serious problem of unemployment,” as Colville insists the model village program does, Guatemalan labor leader Gerardo Fiapo points to the regime’s dismissal of 10,000 mostly organized public-works employees in the last year and claims that this is union-busting in its most extreme form.

Coffee cant

Just as you were getting used to the idea that “coffee lets you calm yourself down” in the zippy patter of the National Coffee Association’s \$24 million ad campaign, they changed the blurb to “coffee is the calm moment that lets you think.” Not that the Center for Science in the Public Interest’s (CSPI) talks with the Better Business Bureau or its petition to the FTC prompted the change. The spokesman for the coffee lobby says that their own follow-up surveys showed that “there were a few folks who weren’t getting the simple message we were trying to convey.” The message, which the spokesman says has remained unchanged, is that there’s a whole “coffee experience” that lets people pause and refresh themselves. “I don’t know what this group’s problem is,” he adds in soothing, decaffeinated tones. “We make it clear in our commercials we’re not talking strictly pharmacologically, we’re talking about the whole ambience that surrounds a coffee break.” CSPI is dissatisfied with the changes, though, and the petition remains in FTC hands to pursue the commercial’s misleading claim.

Twisting the day away

Former IBM President William Laughlin knew in 1975 what it’d take to make the office of the future when he told *Business Week*, “People will adapt nicely to office systems—if their arms are broken. We’re in the twisting stage now.” VDT operators suffer from their share of “twisted arms”: red and watery eyes, continual muscle pains, those constant nagging headaches and the worry of working with very low frequency emissions. But 9to5 and concerned representatives in seven states (New York, Illinois, Oregon, Ohio, Rhode Island, California and Massachusetts) have introduced legislation to protect the female-dominated occupation from the worst effects of VDT use. The states’ bills differ in content and chances for passage but most share similar prohibitions and prescriptions: they outlaw keystroke monitoring (the ‘80s version of factory piecework), they call for worker-adjustable chairs and screens and filters to reduce emissions and glare; and they demand periodic shifts away from the video terminal.

Fighting 9to5 is CEBEMA—the Computer, Business Equipment and Management Association—which has threatened to pull business out of the states contemplating passage of the bills. Shielding the cathode ray tube only costs an extra \$30 on machines that retail for thousands of dollars, but the issue is who will break rank and up their manufacturing costs in this highly competitive industry.

Food fright

If the use of EDB hasn’t made you think twice about that orange or slice of whole wheat toast, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration may soon approve of a food preservation process that will: large-scale irradiation of fruits, vegetables and seasonings to “extend shelf life,” reports Stewart Burns. Last July, the FDA approved doses of up to one million rads of low-level radiation to control bacteria in seasonings and spices. The recent proposals would allow up to 100,000 rads of gamma radiation to be used on fruits and vegetables—100,000 times the amount of radiation present in a medical X-ray. Agribusiness companies are already constructing treatment plants in a move that’s expected by industry officials to revolutionize the food industry in much the same way as freezing or canning did. Apparently they’re worried, however, that if the FDA forces the industry to label their vegetables “irradiated,” consumers will dub the result “nuke food” and flee empty-handed from the produce counter.

—Beth Maschinot



Chicago neighborhoods will get a boost from First National's \$100 million loan program.

Neighborhoods win loan aid

CHICAGO—A coalition of community organizations has prodded the First National Bank of Chicago to agree to make \$100 million in loan money available over the next five years to low and moderate income neighborhoods through a newly formed Neighborhood Banking Division.

Although there are similar programs in other cities, designed to keep the depositors’ money invested in their communities, the size of First National’s pledge is unprecedented. Gail Cincotta, executive director of the National Training and Information Center—a member group of the Community Reinvestment Alliance—calls the loan program “a national model for how a partnership can be forged between a city’s neighborhoods and a lending institution.”

The loan money will be used by families to purchase and upgrade single-family homes, by commercial and not-for-profit apartment developers, and by small businesses for purchasing equipment.

The housing loans will be made exclusively in low and moderate income neighborhoods. To be eligible, areas must have average incomes less than 80 percent of the metropolitan area’s median income. This makes vast portions of the city’s central, west and southside neighborhoods eligible.

The Neighborhood Banking Division was created only after persistent and widespread community pressure on First National, which is one of the city’s largest banks.

Thirty-five community organi-

zations participated in a number of open meetings to air complaints of community disinvestment and to set the agenda for negotiating with the bank. The Community Reinvestment Alliance (CRA)—a coalition of seven community and umbrella organizations such as the Chicago Rehab Network, the Chicago Association of Neighborhood Development Organizations and the National Training and Information Center—found an opening in First National’s armor in August when the bank announced plans to acquire American National, another local bank.

This acquisition was subject to federal approval, and would have given the Alliance a right to challenge the bank’s record on reinvestment according to the guidelines of the Federal Community Reinvestment Act. The 1977 Reinvestment Act requires banks to make loans in their immediate communities, and it permits interested parties such as community organizations to lodge complaints against recalcitrant lenders. The Alliance’s threat to block First National’s plans was successful: First National agreed to most of their demands in order to clear the way for the acquisition.

In addition to being the impetus in creating the program, the community group will also influence the implementation. Apartment building rehab loans will be available to non-profit community housing developers, and many business loans will be made through community economic development organizations. Also, a review board will monitor the program throughout its five-year duration. Half of the 10 review board members will be appointed by the CRA.

Ironically, it has fallen to community organizations such as the

CRA to make Reagan’s promise of private initiatives work. For more information on the program, contact Larry Swift at the Woodstock Institute, 417 S. Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60605, (312) 427-8070.

—Paul Ginger

Goode beats Philly cold

PHILADELPHIA—In Mayor Wilson Goode’s first test case on public policy—a directive to reform both procedure and structure of utility policy—Philadelphia community leaders and energy activists are guardedly optimistic.

Shut-offs will be curtailed through March 31 for those who can show proof that pre-schoolers, senior citizens or sick and infirm reside in the home. In addition, the five-member Philadelphia Gas Commission would finally be provided with adequate staff and a consumer advocate’s office to represent consumer interest at all commission rate hearings.

Although not very radical, considering current municipal and state utility policy around the country, the late February directive is a major departure from past practice in Philadelphia. The most criticized aspect of that former policy was the “callous and cold-hearted” attitude of the Philadelphia Gas Works (PGW) concerning winter shut-offs. Any homeowner who owed PGW more than \$300 was a potential candidate for disconnection. In fact, 35,000 Philadelphia homeowners were shut off in 1983.

The mayor was in a particularly vulnerable position because of his unique experience in the util-

by Nicole Hollander

SYLVIA

of course everyone associated with television will have difficulty getting into Heaven, but some more than others.

YOU SCHEDULED NOTHING BUT SPORTS ON WEEKENDS.

LISTEN IF I HAD HAD MY WAY, WE'D HAVE AN ALL-BOWLING CHANNEL.

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ity arena. As former chairman of the state Public Utility Commission (PUC) and chief proponent of the PUC's humane no-shut-off clause between December 1 and April 1, he would have been hard pressed to articulate a harsher policy for Philadelphia residents (the municipally owned Gas Works is not under PUC jurisdiction). —Allen Hornblum

Growth pains disagreement

BERKELEY—"The word 'growth' is hard for environmentalists to say," Friends of the Earth's Jim Harding told 700 activists attending a weekend conference on economic growth at University of California, Berkeley, on February 18. Indeed, most of the speakers at the "Growth Pains" conference attempted to define growth in terms that their respective constituencies in the feminist, environmentalist, minority and labor movements could understand. Not surprisingly, they were not of one mind.

The organizers structured the conference to encourage representatives of different movements to explore their differences and address the economic issues of other groups. "Rather than simply adding up positions in a left economic program, we tried to get people to air their disagreements," said *Socialist Review* editor, Jeff Escofier.



The panel on growth and employment, for example, illustrates the various approaches to solving economic problems in the U.S. Dick Greenwood told the assembly that the principal objective of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers' (IAMAW) economic program was "to achieve a full-employment economy." He outlined the IAMAW's proposal for a new social contract with corporations and plans for national boards that would regulate investment, pension funds and energy.

University of Pennsylvania professor Fred Block disagreed

with this objective, asking the audience to call into question the "sacred cow of full employment." Arguing that technological transformations have reduced the amount of work per person in the U.S. (the average annual amount of available work per person in the U.S. was 814 hours in 1979, down from 1,045 hours in 1910), Block said, "We have a situation where there's less work and more people demanding a share of that work. In this context, the slogan of full employment is increasingly problematic." He urged leftists to eliminate "the arbitrary distinction between work and nonwork" and urged support for a fair sharing of wealth, leisure time and work.

However, Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles Jr. disagreed with both Block and Greenwood. "The concept of full employment is important for the black and unemployed constituency I represent," he told Block. Riles then criticized the IAMAW's emphasis on national boards and banks as mechanisms of economic control, because of the power of special interests and corporations on them. "Economic resources can best be controlled by community boards and agencies," he said, citing Oakland's attempt to take control of the Raiders football team through eminent domain proceedings.

The call for full employment also left Barbara Ehrenreich

dissatisfied. Ehrenreich, co-chair of Democratic Socialists of America (co-sponsors with *Socialist Review* of the conference) cautioned that "full-time employment for women means poverty for women segregated in low-wage, service-sector jobs. Full employment is not a solution to women's poverty." Opposing Riles' and Harding's view that economic policy be community controlled, Ehrenreich said, "We need to have federal, not local social welfare systems. Welfare is too much in the hands of localities and states, where they are hostage to business interests."

—Robert Schaeffer

Critics complain that lax controls regulating the transport of nuclear wastes may someday result in a Three Mile Island on the highway that could kill thousands of people and leave a radioactive wasteland that would take months, if not years, to decontaminate. During the four decades of the atomic age, nuclear wastes have not been a top priority. In the '50s, more than 1,000 drums of wastes more radioactive than anything else on earth were deep-sixed in the North Atlantic. And on land, the wastes have piled up.

Today, about 9,000 tons at commercial nuclear power plants await permanent storage, says Ginger King of the U.S. Department of Energy. By 2000, there'll be 90,000 tons. Some 75 million gallons of high-level defense wastes are also in storage limbo.

Some of the reactor waste—the "hottest" radioactive material known—has been shuffled around from reactor site to temporary storage site to reprocessing site and back again in what Fred Millar of the Environmental Policy Institute in Washington, D.C., terms a deadly and unnecessary "national shell game."

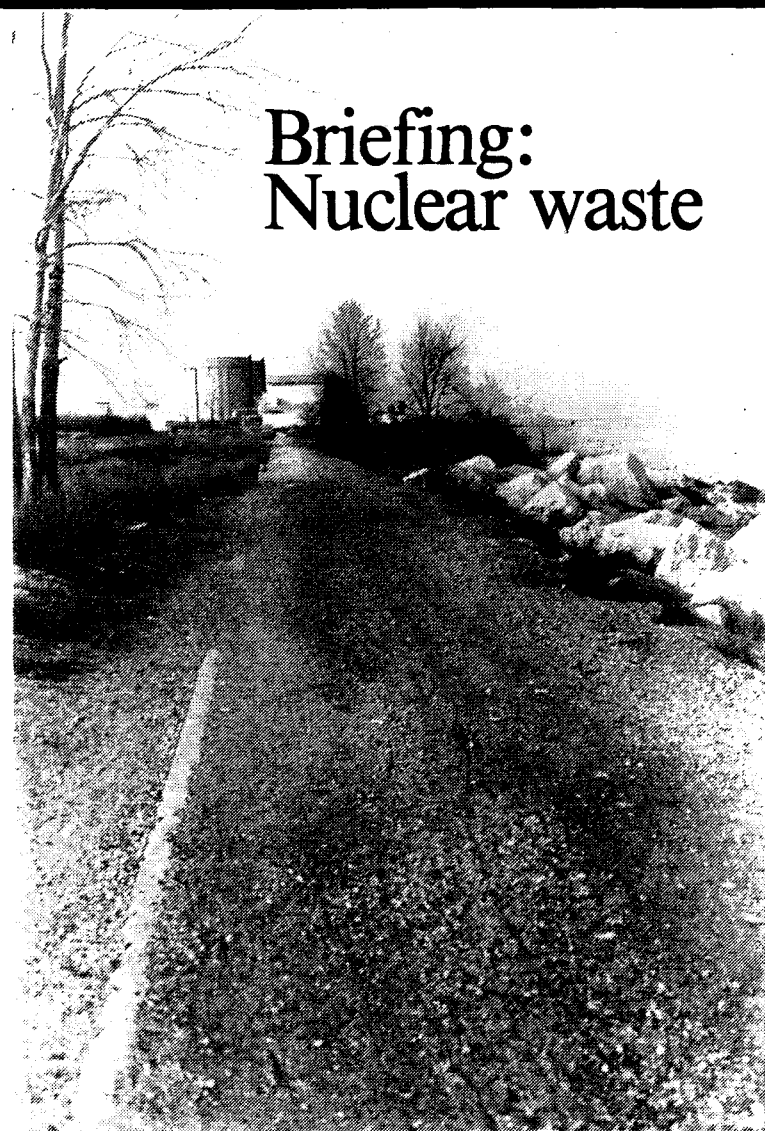
Last year, Congress finally passed a law to establish by 1998 a permanent repository for commercial-reactor wastes. The actual site has not yet been chosen. However, a final resting place has been designated for defense wastes. By the end of this decade, the Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP) in Carlsbad, N.M., will begin accepting the wastes generated during 40 years of building nuclear weapons.

Although legislators have finally come to grips with a long-term solution for nuclear wastes, in a sense, the problems are only just beginning. In 1988, when WIPP opens its half-mile-deep underground doors to defense wastes, up to two million cubic feet of the stuff stored in Idaho and Hanford, Wash., will pass through the Western states on a thousand-mile journey full of potential hazards.

And if either Nevada, Utah or Washington is chosen from the list of nine potential sites for the commercial repository, a central western state like Colorado would become, as Millar says, a "nuclear-waste funnel" for up to 9,000 shipments a year of "spent" fuel from the nation's 80-plus reactors.

It's not just the next decade that some are worried about, however. During the past decade, about 400 spent-fuel shipments a year have taken place. And more are on the way. In two years, half a dozen reactors will run out of storage space, and in 1987, another five utilities will need to find someplace else to temporarily store their wastes.

The Department of Transportation (DOT), in formulating the shipping regulations, estimated that a serious accident would only occur once in 300 million years, killing five people and causing up to \$9 billion in immediate damages. But Millar



Briefing: Nuclear waste

says the probability figure "is based on a historical data base that even government researchers admit is scanty and unreliable for confident predictions." For instance, in 1977 a study claimed that the maximum possible transportation spill of processed uranium ore was six pounds. Three weeks after the study was released, a truck overturned and dumped 42,000 pounds of the powdery substance on a southeast Colorado highway.

"We project 27 nuclear truck accidents, from minor to severe, in the year 2000 alone," Resnikoff says. While the nuclear wastes, transported in casks, cannot reach the critical mass necessary to initiate a nuclear blast, "each nuclear shipment," he says, "contains 10 times the long-lived radioactivity released by the Hiroshima bomb."

Millar and Resnikoff criticize the utilities for choosing to ship their wastes off-site rather than to build new waste-storage facilities on site. Millar says it boils down to bucks: to build a new storage pound costs about \$100 million and takes eight years; to ship the wastes costs between \$1 and \$2 million.

The problem with shipping spent-fuel wastes, Resnikoff says, is with the casks—"the Achilles heel" of nuclear waste transport. They've never been physically tested, the welds haven't been X-rayed and a number of casks are defective. NRC standards require the casts to withstand fires of 800 degrees C. for 30 minutes. Millar, citing DOT statistics, says, "The average temperature of a transportation accident fire is 1,000 degrees C. and some of these fires have burned for days."

The railroad companies, whose livelihood depends on passable track, also aren't so sure the casks are safe. Chris Knapton of the Washington, D.C.-based Association of

American Railroads says the companies worry that "NRC testing did not consist of an actual simulation of the forces that could occur in a massive railroad derailment."

Several years ago, Knapton says, several companies tried to restrict the transport of nuclear materials to "special trains under special conditions." But the court decided against the railroads in favor of the common-carrier statutes, which dictate that companies can't prescribe specific conditions.

Although the courts have to date ruled against the railroads and local governments in favor of the federal government and nuclear industry, the war between opposing forces is not quite over. It may just be starting.

Given the grave consequences of an accident releasing radioactivity, more than 250 cities and states—in defiance of federal regulations—have proposed and in some cases enacted legislation to toughen DOT requirements for nuclear-waste shipments, according to *Nucleonics Week*.

"The legal situation is somewhat fuzzy and basically unresolved at the moment," Millar says. "Many states feel very strongly that [DOT's rule HM-164] is a very heavy-handed federal preemption and that it's basically illegal." HM 164 gives the federal government a strong say in determining the routes for waste transport.

Who will have the final say—states and cities or the federal government—will ultimately be settled by the courts.

"Basically," Millar says, "people are not interested in frivolously impeding commerce. What they're interested in is making sure that whatever [shipments are made] first of all need to be made and second, that if they are going to be moved, they're moved in the safest way possible."

—S.K. Levin

POLITICS

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

IN JUNE 1980, MASSACHUSETTS Senator Paul Tsongas gave a speech to the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) Annual Convention in Washington in which he called upon its members to work for a "new liberalism rooted in the sound values of the past but relevant to the all too real problems of the present and future."

Tsongas' speech, in which he defended the need for business tax cuts and increased gasoline taxes, was taken as the clarion call for "neoliberalism," but the tocsin had been sounded at least two years prior by Colorado Sen. Gary Hart, who had first gained renown as Sen. George McGovern's campaign manager in the 1972 presidential election.

In an October 1978 speech, Hart outlined his own economic programs for responding to continuing inflation and flagging business investment. Like the supply-side Republicans, Hart called for tax cuts, including cuts in the corporate tax, but they were progressive rather than regressive. In addition, he called for cuts in spending commensurate with the tax cuts. For 1979 and 1980, Hart proposed that federal purchases of goods and services should be reduced by 2 percent a year in real terms. Since he was known to favor the 3 percent annual increase in military expenditures projected by the Carter administration, these cuts would come out of social spending.

Hart's proposal would not have been unusual for a conservative Southern Democrat or Republican, but it marked a strict departure in the thinking of Democrats previously slotted in the liberal column.

Six years later, Hart's proposal does not seem unusual at all because neoliberalism has become a leading tenet within the Democratic Party. And Gary Hart, its principal avatar, might capture the Democratic nomination for president this year.

Neoliberalism—Hart said in 1979 that he preferred the designation "progressive realist"—is not simply an economic philosophy. It is the world view of a social and political generation of congressional Democrats who came of age in the '60s Vietnam era and who entered Congress in the difficult '70s.

Vietnam generation.

Hart, like Tsongas and Senators Joseph Biden, Bill Bradley and Dale Bumpers, graduated from college in the late '50s or early '60s and became politically active in the mid or late '60s. While Hart claims John Kennedy is his model, he first became politically involved in Robert Kennedy's 1968 anti-war presidential campaign. As part of this generation, Hart was shaped not only by its opposition to the war but also by its support for feminist and environmental causes.

Hart's generation took office in the '70s, when the world recession and the energy crisis had shaken the Democrats' governing philosophy. When former Vice-President Walter Mondale had entered the Senate in 1964, the Democratic Congress was still concerned with allocating the fruits of a booming economy and finding the means to prevent recession altogether. But by 1974, when Hart entered the Senate, congressional Democrats were worried about both preventing a world depression and apportioning sacrifice equally among income groups.

Mondale's generation had viewed government as a means of correcting inequities and imbalances of an otherwise thriving economy. Government fiscal policy would eliminate recessions while at the same time it could be used to satisfy the demands of competing interest groups. Unless the economy was already at full employment, government spending could always be increased, with no harmful side effects.

Hart and his colleagues had a fundamentally different view of government and fiscal policy, fearing that increased

government spending would only cause greater budget deficits and fuel inflation. They did not view the fiscal crisis of the state as a reflection of the stagnation in the private sector, but instead saw private stagnation as a result of the fiscal crisis. (Oddly, this view was perpetuated not only by conservative and liberal economists like Lester Thurow, but also by left-wing economists like James O'Connor.) They sought to revive the private sector by removing what they viewed as unnecessary government intrusions from taxes and regulations to bailouts of failing industries and protectionist trade measures.

Unlike the supply-side Republicans, who held a similar overall view, the neoliberal Democrats did not contend that once government was removed from "the backs of industry" private industry would automatically flourish. They understood that the removal of government regulations and the reduction of taxes would have to be accompanied by direct or indirect measures to ensure that business took advantage of its new opportunities. Thus, the neoliberals joined some of the older liberals in calling for a government industrial policy.

But differences persisted. The liberals of Mondale's generation had come into

office on the wings of a buoyant labor movement whose base was still in the successful heavy industries of the North. They saw industrial policy as a means of protecting labor and business in these industries from the ravages of international competition.

Many neoliberals like Hart and Tsongas represented states and districts that had grown because of the micro-electronic or information revolution. The neoliberals viewed high-tech industries and the introduction of high technology into older industries as the answer to America's declining industrial competitiveness, and they saw industrial policy as the means of accelerating the transformation of American industry and of the American labor force.

Neoliberals had little allegiance to the labor movement. Their campaigns were supported by labor because of the specter of the Republican opposition, but they viewed labor as an adversary as much as a friend. They blamed the state's fiscal crisis and the stagnation of the private sector on the older interest-group liberalism of Mondale and his mentor Hubert Humphrey and on the interest groups themselves, particularly the labor movement. For them, labor represented the de-

mands for greater social spending, industry bailouts and protectionism.

The first sign of a falling out between labor and the neoliberals came in the fall of 1979. When Hart decided to support the deregulation of natural gas prices, William Holayter of the Machinists union sent Hart a note saying that his union was "reviewing" its relationship with him. Hart sent copies of Holayter's note to other labor officials with the comment, "This is precisely what is wrong with the American labor movement."

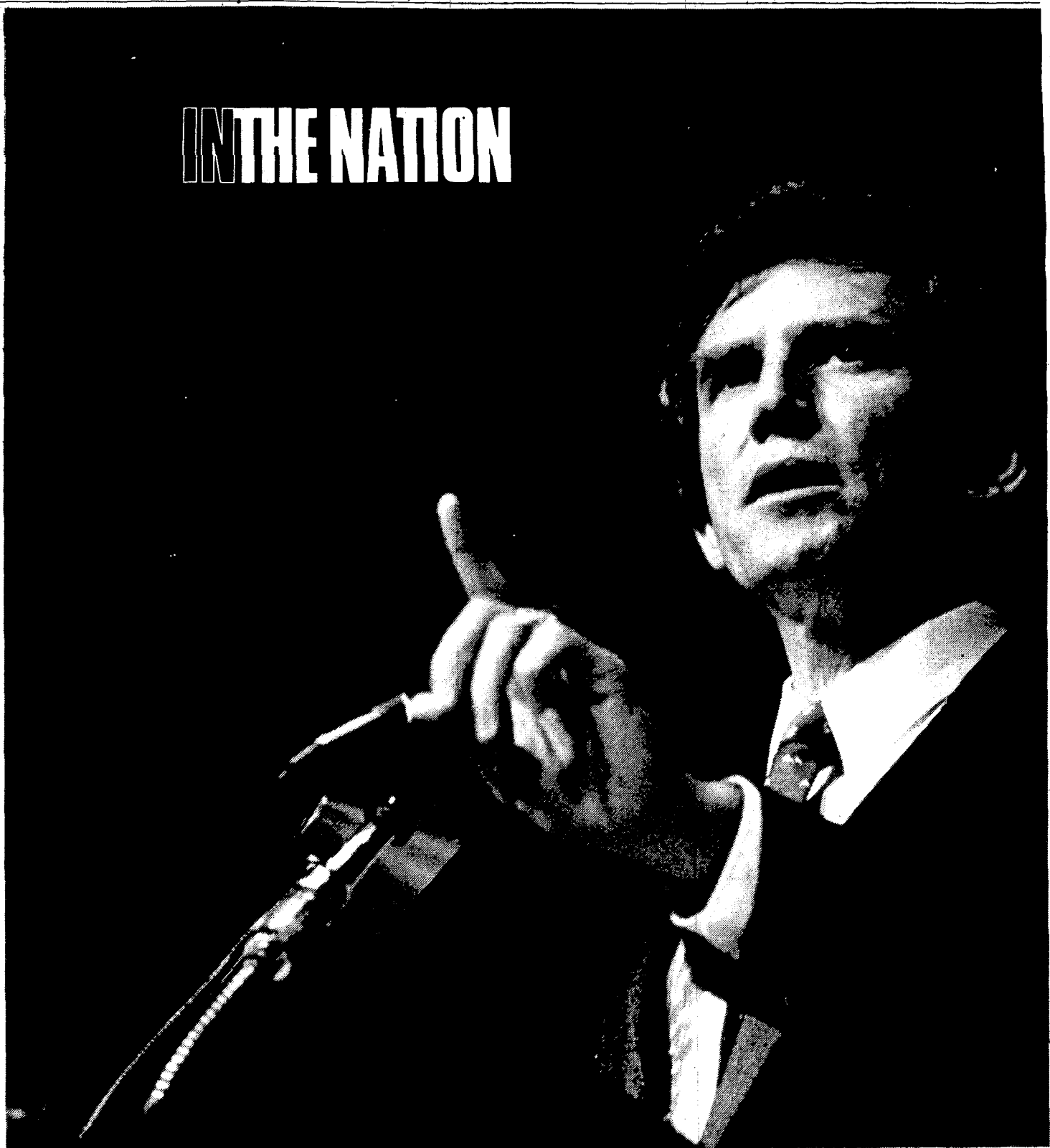
Hart came to some of these views intuitively, almost spontaneously. Others he acquired through reflection and discussion during his 10 years in the Senate, where he surprised his colleagues and constituents by becoming one of the Senate's leading experts on military strategy.

Senator Hart.

One must be careful when using a Senator's record as a legislator as the basis for predicting what he will do if elected president. Senators, for instance, represent state constituencies as well as their own conception of the national interest. They will sometimes act to represent their constituencies at the expense of what they view as the national interest. This is particularly true if they want to stay in office and if their own views are at odds with many of their voters'.

This was a problem for Hart from the beginning. George McGovern's campaign manager was an extremely unlikely choice to become the senator of a state that had elected very conservative Republicans like Gordon Allott and Peter Dominick, the incumbent Hart challenged. Hart won in 1974 largely because of Dominick's ties to the Watergate scandal. Then in 1980, he barely defeated a lightweight Republican opponent.

As a senator, Hart walked a fine line



Gary Hart's view of the world was shaped by the Vietnam war and by the recession of the early '70s.

Neoliberal Hart: stagnation is result of public spending

between politics and principle—supporting water projects and energy tax breaks for Colorado's energy companies that he might easily have opposed if he were president. But as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee representing a state with considerable dependence on and enthusiasm for the military, Hart fell upon a way to synthesize politics and principle. He became the leading Senate representative of what has been called "military reform."

Hart came under the influence of retired Colonel John Boyd, who had organized a group that was promoting a new military strategy for the U.S. Instead of questioning American foreign policy objectives, the Boyd group questioned the military means by which they were being carried out. They contended that American military strategy, based on acquiring superior firepower and defeating the enemy by attrition, was outmoded and should be replaced by a strategy of surprise and maneuver.

The Boyd group's new strategy had profound repercussions for the military budget. While the strategy of firepower/attrition called for building large, highly sophisticated, unwieldy, often unreliable and terribly expensive planes, ships or tanks, the strategy of maneuver called for building more numerous, cheaper, lighter, less technologically sophisticated and more reliable weapons—smaller conventionally-powered aircraft carriers instead of nuclear carriers, the Polaris instead of the Trident submarine, the F-14 instead of the F-18 airplane.

Hart became the Boyd group's man on the Armed Services Committee: the proponent of a smaller, more numerous Navy—"Hart's Navy," it came to be called—and the opponent of a succession of weapons, from the nuclear aircraft carrier to the B-1 bomber that he claimed were militarily useless.

His new perspective allowed him to evade the terms of the debate between liberals who wanted to decrease the military budget and conservatives who wanted to increase it. He argued that what mattered was what the money bought, not how much was spent. While his opposition to weapons like the B-1 earned him the plaudits of liberals, his support for a larger budget for the Navy and for the Carter administration's 3-percent-a-year projections earned him the respect of conservatives and many of his constituents.

Hart also earned liberal support because of his continuous campaign for arms control. His military strategy, based on conventional weaponry, never betrayed any interest in nuclear war fighting. And he opposed a series of strategic weapons, including the MX, that he believed were destabilizing. In the Senate, he was one of SALT II's most unshakeable supporters. His initial reluctance to support a nuclear freeze was largely the result of his conviction that the campaign to ratify SALT II should still be the arms control lobby's chief concern.

He also retained his Vietnam-era opposition to American intervention abroad. Hart has been one of the few Democrats to oppose "the Carter Doctrine," which stipulated that the U.S. would intervene militarily if Persian Gulf oil supplies to the West were cut off.

But Hart's military strategy may contradict his foreign policy views. His advocacy of a "maritime strategy," in which the U.S. maintains "control of the seas," appears to be a latter-day version of the Theodore Roosevelt-Alfred Mahan doctrine of naval superiority as the key to a new American imperialism. "We have global interests, which require adequate naval power to support them," Hart declared in a 1978 Senate speech justifying increased appropriations for the Navy.

His military strategy nevertheless provided him with a model for how to think about policy. If one could change the terms of debate, one could evade the old left/right distinctions and reduce hitherto unmanageable political questions to technical ones. Hart had sought to do this with military questions; now he wanted to find a way to do it with the equally difficult questions of economic policy.

When certain older liberal politicians like Sen. Edward Kennedy or Humphrey talked economics, their model appeared to be European social democracy. They saw the economy as large companies and large unions, whose performance should be benevolently overseen by the government. But other politicians adhere to a 19th-century economic model of a self-regulating marketplace of small concerns, and they view with alarm and suspicion any deviation from this ideal.

Hart seems to carry this latter ideal within his head, perhaps as a result of his upbringing in a small-town Kansas farming community. In repeated statements during the '70s, Hart blamed inflation on collusion among big government, big cor-

porations and big labor. A certain populist fervor crept into Hart's language when he spoke of this dread triumvirate. For instance, in 1978 he declared, "Corporations, government agencies and labor unions by their very size threaten to crush individual innovation and creativity."

When Hart referred to economic concentration, he also invariably included unions as well as corporations. "Clearly, many of our nation's corporations and trade unions have amassed enough power to exact demands that exclude what could be achieved under conditions of active competition," Hart wrote in explaining the inflationary role of business and labor.

So far, Freeze has been cool to Hart

By Joan Walsh

WASHINGTON

WITH MOST OF THE MAJOR anti-Reagan pressure groups already weighed in behind Walter Mondale, one significant constituency has been conspicuous in its absence—the nuclear freeze movement's fledgling electoral strike force, Freeze Voter '84.

Without the burden of an early endorsement, the freeze has enviable flexibility in the changing political terrain of the primary season. It has used that mobility well, pressuring all the candidates for stronger arms control stands. But the emergence of Gary Hart as Mondale's chief rival is forcing freeze backers to come to terms with a candidate whose record, on their scorecard, shows two serious flaws—his belated sponsorship of the Senate freeze resolution and his early support for what became the Republican alternative to the freeze, the build-down.

Both Hart and Mondale have zeroed in on the freeze backers' quandary. Mondale, who has met with Freeze Voter leaders and pledged himself to their '84 legislative strategy, has since his early primary setbacks proclaimed himself the candidate of arms control. Hart, in turn, has increased the volume of his current support for the freeze and his advocacy of past measures like SALT II, put on ice by the "Carter-Mondale" administration.

The pressure from both camps has been more focused. Consider the attention paid to Alan Cranston's Illinois delegate slate when their man dropped out of the race in early March. Both Hart and Mondale's state campaign managers went after the Cranston supporters, many of whom were freeze activists. In a March 3 meeting, 25 of them heard SALT II negotiator Paul Warnke argue by telephone for Mondale's arms control record. Then Hart himself phoned, and talked for 30 minutes about his arms control stands, pledging himself if elected to an immed-

iate six-month moratorium on nuclear weapons testing and deployment, and to implementation of the freeze.

Most significant, Hart also repudiated the build-down. When Illinois Freeze Voter chair Robert Stein told Hart that Sen. Charles Percy—the Illinois Freeze's chief target—was using Hart's name to cite bi-partisan support for the Republican build-down plan, Hart promised to notify Percy that he now opposed it. In a "Dear Chuck" letter written the next day, Hart told Percy, "I would greatly appreciate your not using my name as a supporter of the build-down," calling the current version a "substitute for the freeze" and a "mechanism to rationalize support for the MX," which Hart led a filibuster against last year.

It was a significant victory for Freeze Voters, but their endorsement dilemma is still not resolved. Freeze leaders have the same problem with Hart as other left-leaning observers: in his neoliberal search for a politics that works, he has taken some pretty reproachable positions. In the early days of the Reagan administration he was quoted as boasting, "I support legitimate increases in spending for national security that are fully as large as the president requested." He put his vote where his voice was, supporting Reagan's cuts in social spending and hikes for the military.

And he has always styled himself an advocate of "military reform" more than arms control, at least until the current campaign. His build-down support fits that image, his "less is not better, more is not better, better is better" approach to military spending. All the existing build-down proposals allow for modernization of the nation's military arsenal and the development of new, potentially destabilizing weaponry (although its more promising versions move the U.S. arsenal away from first-strike multiple warheads to less accurate but more easily protected weapons). To his credit, Hart voted against the Reagan-backed build-down that came before the Senate in October 1983.

But Hart's biggest liability with the freeze movement is his refusal to take a

His disdain for big corporations, labor and government and his nostalgic view of free enterprise was apparent in his December 1979 opposition to the Chrysler bailout. Hart disagreed with the specifics of the loan agreement, but what most offended him about it was the principle involved: government, business and labor were conspiring to frustrate the efficient working of the free enterprise system. "This legislation contradicts the basic tenets of free enterprise that once characterized our nation's economy," Hart declared in a Senate speech.

Until the '80s, Hart found himself uncomfortably perched between the Democratic liberals and Republican conserva-

Continued on following page

prominent role in introducing the Freeze resolution in the Senate two years ago. "He was young, he was the new generation, he was a natural," says one freeze leader. The movement turned to Sen. Edward Kennedy and Sen. Mark Hatfield. Hart took another year to sign on as a sponsor.

Will those bygones be bygones, now that Hart is repudiating build-down, trumpeting both his freeze support and six-month nuclear moratorium plan and making promises to the movement? Opposition to Hart seems to be thawing, but an endorsement is not imminent.

"There's not a consensus to move behind either candidate right now," says William Curry, executive director of Freeze Voter '84. Although a presidential endorsement is on an upcoming board agenda, Curry says a decision will be de-

"Hart's message to us has been mixed," says Freeze Voter '84 head William Curry. "He's raised questions."

layed. "There's a general sense that defeating Reagan is our number one priority and that the difference between the candidates on our issues isn't that great. So there simply isn't that great a reason to move now."

A survey of Freeze Voter members several months ago showed 70 percent of them opposed to an early endorsement, Curry said, "and we decided to abide by that." Interestingly, a presidential preference poll in the survey showed support for Cranston, Mondale, George McGovern and Jesse Jackson, in that order, but none for Hart.

"His message to us has been mixed," notes Curry, who is known to personally favor Mondale. "On the build-down, on waiting a year to sign onto the freeze, he's raised questions that we hope will be answered clearly."

Yet with his surprising primary and caucus showings, "Hart is looking strong right now," says Curry, even to skeptical freeze backers. In this anyone-but-Reagan year, attention must be paid to the candidate with the best chance to defeat the president. If that starts to look like Hart, support for Mondale could melt away like McGovern's admirable but hopeless candidacy.

"If he's the nominee, we'd work hard for Gary Hart," says Curry. "The positions he's running on today are more than acceptable to this movement." But though a pre-nomination freeze endorsement will be intended "to help whomever the frontrunner may be, that won't obscure the obligation we feel to hold any office seeker accountable and find out what they most truly and deeply stand for." For Hart, that means more questions about his "military reform" past. But given Freeze Voter's 35-state PACs and thousands of volunteers, the pragmatic Hart will likely find a way to keep coming up with acceptable answers. ■

Both Hart and Mondale are courting Freeze support.



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Continued from the previous page

tives like David Stockman. Hart knew what he didn't like about current economic policy, but he saw no clear way out of the continuing stagnation. In the early '80s, however, Hart discovered the prophets of high technology and the information revolution: economists David Birch and Robert Hamrin, pollster John Naisbett and consultant Derek Hansen. They saw in the information revolution the key to American revitalization. Hart found in it his version of the Laffler Curve.

Their view of the information revolution redeemed his faith in small business. The revolution had started, after all, with

small owner-operated companies and co-operatives like Apple. And the new gurus of high technology like Hansen intoned the virtues of entrepreneurialism—a term that Hart would quickly adopt. The information revolution also showed Hart that the private sector, if properly supervised by government, could regenerate itself without government ownership and control. It cut through the liberal/conservative debate on budget policy by refocusing attention on the private sector. If American high-technology companies could enjoy rapid growth and if the benefits of high technology could be brought to older industries, the U.S. economy could recover from its slump.

Hart envisaged three obstacles to the

adaptation of American industry to the information revolution. First, the American worker could prove inadequate, whether as a result of insufficient training and education or of union resistance to automation. Hart proposed a set of programs to deal with worker retraining and computer education, including a new Defense Education Act. Second, small businesses needed risk capital to begin ventures, and large corporations needed tax credits to install high technology, both of which Hart proposed to provide through new state and federal programs. Third, businesses could squander their capital on mergers and speculation (high-tech proponents distinguish between production-oriented "entrepreneurialism" and "capitalism"). And unions and corporations together could block the expansion of the high-tech world market by pressuring the government for trade legislation to protect older, dying industries. To make capital and labor cooperate in the new information revolution, Hart proposed an industrial policy.

His strategy was spelled out in a series of position papers circulated in 1982 and in his book, *The New Democracy*, published in 1983. Hart's overall industrial policy is different from Mondale's not only in stressing high technology over the need to prop up ailing industry, but also in its view of government.

Hart's version lacks a planning board and a development bank. It includes a Jerry Brown-style proposal for a Council on Emerging Issues. While the kind of proposals favored by Mondale and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland resemble European national planning, Hart's model recalls the Roosevelt administration's National Recovery Administration.

Hart's industrial strategists would exact some changes directly from business and labor—for instance, in exchange for short-term trade concessions they would demand an agreement to modernize. But, for the most part, they would try to get business and labor to agree on their own to increase productivity. Hart explained in one 1982 paper, "The principal role of

the government is to provide a generally supportive context for the needed business/labor initiatives and to fill in the 'gaps' due to inadequate private sector resources or mandate."

His strategy would also use indirect devices and market incentives rather than direct government intervention. Instead of a board regulating wages and prices for the overall economy, Hart has proposed a tax-based incomes policy (TIP) in which workers and employers receive tax breaks or penalties according to whether they exceed or fall short of certain wage and price standards. And Robert Kaus correctly observed in *The New Republic*, "These kind of innocuous devices can require as much bureaucracy as more formal control. Who will, for instance, set and enforce the TIP standards?"

Carter reborn.

The presidential candidate Hart most closely resembles is Jimmy Carter. Carter also had a strong small-business orientation, a concern for the environment, an opposition to overseas intervention and a fascination with technical detail. But there are differences between Carter in 1976 and Hart in 1984.

Hart is far more sophisticated about foreign and military policy than Carter was. He has thought through his economic policy more clearly and is more aware of the shape of the American and the world economy. He also knows Washington better and might be a better public leader than Carter was.

Some of Hart's important differences from Mondale have already been noted above. Mondale, a Democrat of the '50s and '60s who began his career as Hubert Humphrey's campaign manager in 1948, is far more emotionally committed to labor and to the elimination of poverty and racial inequality than Hart. But he appears oblivious to the change that high technology has made in the U.S. economy. As Hart charges, Mondale speaks for the past rather than the future.

Their foreign policy views are quite similar. Hart's opposition to American intervention, beginning with the Vietnam war, has been more consistent and stronger. And Mondale's closeness to AFL-CIO head Kirkland should give pause to proponents of a nuclear freeze and American withdrawal from Central America.

The candidate's economic strategies are significantly different in emphasis but have certain disquieting features in common. Neither Hart nor Mondale appreciates the extent to which the American economic crisis is the result of normal, rather than abnormal, decision-making by corporate managers and bankers, nor, therefore, the extent to which an administration, seeking to turn the U.S. around, would have to challenge those decision-making procedures. By rejecting such liberal programs as a national health service, both Mondale and Hart accept the conventional wisdom that the public sector must be cut to make room for the private sector.

Hart's appreciation of high technology is important, yet he underestimates the threat of automation to the present structure of the American economy. But his advisor, Robert Hamrin, does understand the threat. In an essay, "The Transforming American Economy," Hamrin warned that if the expansion of the information sector does not make up for jobs lost in agriculture and manufacturing, the American economy could face an even deeper crisis. Hart has not thought through the consequences of his own industrial strategy.

But Mondale and Kirkland have not faced the obverse consequences of delaying the spread of the information revolution and high technology through union resistance to automation and through the government providing trade protection and bailouts without exacting a commitment from industry to modernize. Both Hart's and Mondale's pasts appear to lead to economic crisis.

The real question about Hart and Mondale, which cannot be answered now, is: which of these men would be capable, in the face of a crisis, of transcending their deepest assumptions about the American economy?

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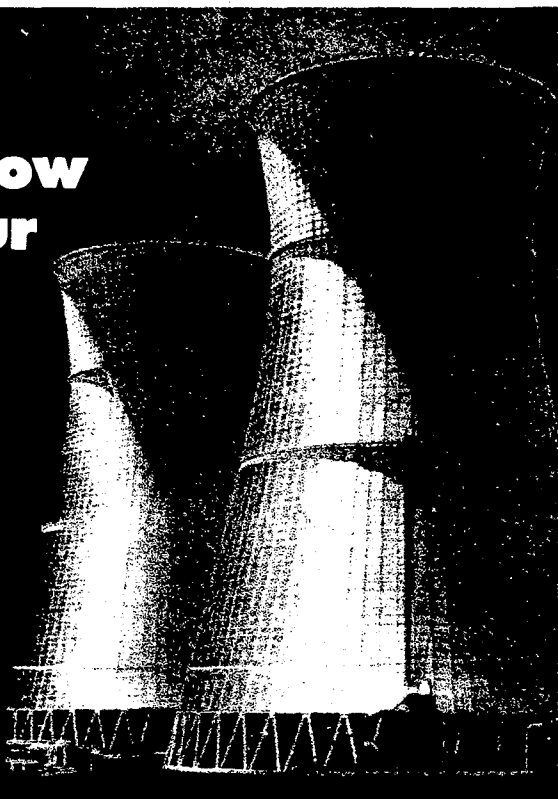
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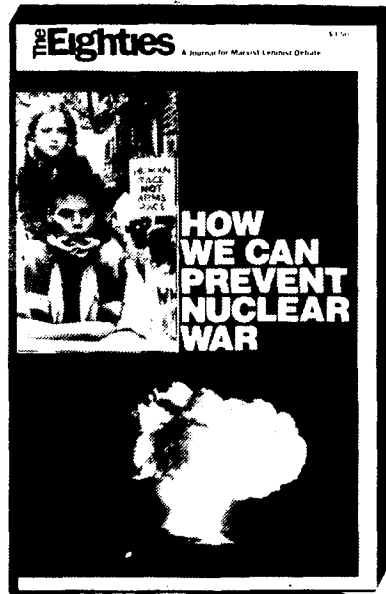
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- March 19** Chapel Hill, N.C. U. of N.C., Student Union 7:30 p.m.
- March 23** Baltimore, U. of MD (Baltimore County), Lecture Hall 4, 1 p.m.
- March 27** Pittsburgh, U. of Pitts. Graduate School of Public Health Aud. 7 p.m.
- March 28** Washington D.C., American U., McDowell 7:30 p.m.
- March 28** Ann Arbor, U. of Mich. Union, Anderson Rm C & D, 7:30 p.m.
- March 29** Washington D.C., U. of MD, 1143 Student Union Building, 8 p.m.
- April 11** Washington D.C., Geo. Wash. U., Marvin Ctr. Rm 410, 821 Street, 8 p.m.

NEW RIGHT

Conservatism after 1984 and Reagan

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

MOST CONSERVATIVES ARE not worried about the presidential election. They share the conviction of John T. Dolan, chair of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) that "the president will be re-elected with a fairly sizable margin."

But they are deeply concerned about the Senate and House races and the prospects of conservatism after 1984. Some identified with the New Right have been discussing starting a new "Conservative-Populist Party" in 1985, which would run candidates in districts with no Republican or Democratic conservative candidates.

While conservatives disagree about the need for a new party, virtually all agree on what a second Reagan administration should try to accomplish. These points were outlined by speakers at this year's Conservative Political Action Conference, held March 1-3 at Washington's Sheraton Hotel.

Hart or Mondale?

The conservative movement has been gearing up for more than six months to stop former Vice-President Walter Mondale from becoming the next President of the United States. Last week the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), which is waging an independent re-election campaign for Reagan, sent out a mailing to solicit funds to defeat Mondale.

NCPAC's letter includes a photostat of a Wednesday, November 7 issue of "The Daily Gezette" (sic) headlined "Reagan Loses!" It features photos of President-elect Mondale, Sen. Edward Kennedy and the Rev. Jesse Jackson ("Jesse Jackson outlines his plans for a reorganization of budget priorities at the Mondale victory press conference," the caption reads) and stories entitled "Kirkland Takes Control" and "Foreign Reaction Mixed...Moscow Response Positive."

The only problem is that Reagan may not be running against Mondale next November.

At the March 1-3 Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington, there was considerable discussion about how Reagan would do against Sen. Gary Hart. Ed Rollins, Reagan's campaign manager, did not appear worried by Hart. "Gary Hart can become whatever he wants to become," Rollins said. "But we can't forget that he was the author of the McGovern campaign in 1972 and has never had a serious disagreement with McGovern, who is now the elder statesman of the party."

But *National Review* Washington editor John McLaughlin typified the disquiet that the prospect of running against Hart has caused among conservatives. "I would have felt much more comfortable if this meeting were taking place a week ago rather than today," McLaughlin said, referring to the previous week's New Hampshire primary. "We now have a whole new ball game and an unknown quantity that might prove very dangerous. Ronald Reagan has been running against Walter Mondale for 15 years, but Hart has none of the baggage of the older liberals."

—J.B.J.

The conference agreed on the following five measures for the Reagan administration's second term:

- *Reduce social spending, taxes and deficits.* The conservatives want Reagan to begin cutting entitlement programs. Allan Ryskind, the Capitol Hill editor of *Human Events*, called for a "massive reduction of the federal budget" during 1985, when in the wake of his re-election Reagan would have "a small window of opportunity." John McLaughlin, the Washington editor of *National Review*, called on Reagan "to launch an attack on the cost-of-living adjustments in entitlements." At the same time, speakers advocated the adoption of a 10 percent flat-rate income tax, which would drastically reduce tax rates in the upper brackets, but, conservatives claim, not reduce revenues because it would remove an incentive to tax cheating.

- *Military victory in Central America.* The conservatives want the Reagan administration to pursue what Howard Phillips, chair of the Conservative Caucus, called a "victory strategy" in Central America rather than a strategy of negotiations. They want the administration to use military force to defeat the Salvadoran rebels and to overthrow Nicaragua's Sandinista government. Ryskind warned, "Unless the Reagan administration can retire the Sandinistas from the field, Central America will be lost." Columnist Pat Buchanan said, "If El Salvador falls and Central America goes with it, the [Soviet] bases will be on the Gulf of Mexico and Soviet planes will be flying air patrols over the Gulf and the Caribbean."

- *Build anti-ballistic missile systems.* The conservatives want the creation of space-based ABMs to become a priority in a second Reagan administration. McLaughlin criticized the administration for devoting "a disproportionate share" of its strategic budget to "offensive systems."

- *Create a conservative majority on the Supreme Court.* The conservatives don't regard the present Supreme Court as conservative and look toward Reagan's second term, when, they believe, he will be able to appoint between two and five new judges. By 1988, five of the current judges will be more than 80 years old.

- *Purge the administration of the "pragmatists."* Most conservatives blame what they haven't liked about the Reagan administration on what Dolan called "the savvy White House pragmatists." They have different personnel suggestions that they are drawing up for 1985, but those of Allan Ryskind are typical. Ryskind suggests making current UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick national security advisor (some conservatives were clamoring to replace Vice-President Bush with Kirkpatrick), bring Interior Secretary William Clark back into the Executive Office to replace Chief of Staff James Baker, fill Edwin Meese's vacant slot with beer mogul Adolf Coors and replace Budget Director David Stockman with J. Peter Grace.

Conservatives disagree on some points. Many favor an amendment mandating a balanced budget. But some, like McLaughlin, believe that such an amendment would merely create new forms of Capitol Hill bookkeeping to hide deficits. They prefer a line-item veto. There is also some disagreement about White House ties with China. New Right types deplore any lessening of American commitment to Taiwan. Others place great geopolitical hopes in an American alliance with China against the Soviet Union.

There are sharp differences among conservatives when it comes to evaluating the Reagan administration to date and



Howard Phillips compares Reagan to Neville Chamberlain.

drawing up a political strategy to enact the conservative agenda. The "moderates," represented by McLaughlin, believe that Reagan's record has been commendable, given his opposition in Congress. They place their faith for the future in the growth of the Republican Party. The "radicals," represented by Phillips, Paul Weyrich, chair of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress and direct mail expert Richard Viguerie, believe that the Reagan administration has been subverted by "Wall Street Republicans" and place their hopes in a new conservative populism.

The radicals' view of the Reagan administration was stated most dramatically by Phillips, an ex-Harvard football player who was a founder of the New Right in the mid-'70s and the leader of

Conservatives blame what they don't like about Reagan on "savvy White House pragmatists."

the campaign against the Panama Canal Treaty. Phillips excoriated the administration for betraying the conservative cause on a host of issues, including its acceptance of a Social Security tax increase, its refusal to shut down the Education Department, its adherence to SALT I and II, its support of a bailout for the International Monetary Fund, its betrayal of Taiwan and its "embrace" of the Trilateral Commission. (Reagan has agreed to meet with the Trilateral Commission when it convenes in Washington April 1.)

Phillips compared Reagan to Neville Chamberlain, Britain's prime minister of the late '30s. "The conservative move-

ment is in the same position today as Winston Churchill was in Great Britain during the '30s," Phillips said. "Neville Chamberlain was a popular leader of the Conservative Party, but Neville Chamberlain was wrong when it came to the question of appeasing Adolf Hitler. When Britain's hour of maximum crisis came, the people of Britain had a place to which they could turn. If the conservative movement sacrifices its principles for the sake of personal loyalties [to Reagan and the Republicans], to whom will the American people turn when our hour of crisis comes in 1985 and 1986?"

Weyrich, also a founder of the New Right, reminded his listeners that he grew up in working-class Racine, Wis., and had an uncle who was Hispanic ("not by marriage," Weyrich added). He then laid out the reasons for starting a new party. "As conservatives, we kid ourselves if we think the president's re-election in 1984 is going to deliver major gains for our movement," Weyrich said. Weyrich argued that the Reagan administration is controlled by the Republican establishment, represented by Reagan aides James Baker and Michael Deaver, and that the administration would neither bring about the kinds of policies conservatives want nor run the kind of campaign that would ensure a conservative majority in Congress.

For Weyrich, the key to building a governing majority is to unite Republican conservatives with blue-collar Democrats. But, Weyrich contended, the Republican Party was incapable of attracting blue-collar votes. "If these kind of voters look at the Republican Party and they see country clubs, and they see the big banks and they see business as usual, they will not go over and vote for the Republican ticket," Weyrich said.

The platform of Weyrich and Phillips' new party has been spelled out most clearly in Richard Viguerie's new book, *The Establishment versus the People*. It is a mix of conservative economics (cuts in taxes, social spending) and conservative social stands on abortion, illegal immigration, busing and gun control that have

Continued on page 10

Illinois

Continued from page 3

races. In the congressional district reaching from Lake Michigan through the poorest black parts of the city and into the suburbs, Rep. Cardiss Collins faces a challenge for what was considered a safe seat by Alderman Danny Davis. Davis, a leading backer of Washington, criticizes Collins for her failure to mobilize and lead the district's population, which is 61 percent black. Last year she endorsed Mayor Jane Byrne over Washington and she has done little to encourage local political action.

Like other members of the Black Caucus, she has a solid liberal voting record, which won her the support of much of labor (significantly, AFSCME remained neutral) and of the National Organization for Women (NOW). But Davis is an articulate black leftist who has been central to the "revolution" in west side city politics. Washington's supporters are behind him, yet Washington only hinted at endorsement to avoid tensions within his city council bloc, where Collins' campaign chairman is an ally.

Another black Congressman, Gus Savage, could be replaced by a white machine ally of Vrdolyak in a largely black district as a result of a split in the black vote: three other blacks, two machine loyalists and an independent, are challenging him. In the downstate district that includes university town Champaign-

Urbana, liberal attorney Tom Lindley, who is on the board of the Illinois Public Action Council, appeared to have a good chance of winning the opportunity to face far-right Rep. Daniel Crane, who narrowly won last time and since has been censured by the House for having sexual relations with a young woman page.

In the Senate race, incumbent Republican Charles Percy seemed to be coasting past his far-right opponent, Rep. Tom Corcoran. A New Right cause celebre, Corcoran attacked Percy for his ties to Jesse Jackson, for opposing both a federal death penalty and a constitutional ban on abortion and for not backing Israel enough. Pro-Israel campaign money that flowed to Corcoran will continue to be aimed against Percy in the fall. If the Democrats mobilize their troops, Percy could be in trouble, especially since he has shifted to the right in recent years to abort a Corcoran-style primary challenge.

Rep. Paul Simon, a moderate liberal from the southern part of the state with most unions behind him, held the lead from the start among the four Democratic contenders for Percy's seat. But he conducted a lackluster, uninspired campaign.

Attorney Alex Seith, whose rough campaign tactics against Percy backfired last time, had risen dramatically in the pre-election polls. Self-described as the most conservative candidate in the race, Seith spent more than \$800,000 of his own money to saturate TV, attacking his rivals for opposing tax indexation and, by implication, favoring tax hikes. But Seith has also taken populist stands, call-

ing for an end to nuclear power, attacking Ford's decision to build a new factory in Mexico and opposing U.S. armed intervention if the Persian Gulf is closed by Iraq or Iran.

Despite an often fumbling, fuzzy campaign, state comptroller Roland Burris, the state's highest-ranking black official and a soft-spoken moderate, appeared to have the loyalty of many blacks and of some whites, including one Polish group. But state Senate Democratic leader Philip Rock, the regular Democratic organization's endorsed candidate, trailed far behind at the bottom of the polls, another indication of the decline of the machine, a clear relic of the "politics of the past."

Right

Continued from page 9

in the past won support among blue-collar Democrats.

Little of the simmering differences over this proposal surfaced in discussion at the conference. Pat Buchanan quipped, "If there is going to be a divorce in 1985, I think we ought to remain together in 1984 for the sake of the children." But John McLaughlin was less restrained in his comments. "The talk I have heard here about a new party ought to be held up for what it is—in this particular year, at this particular time, both scurrilous and dangerous."

The American right, like the left, has been rife with third-party proposals, at

least since the mid-'50s, and one never knows how much to make of any given proposal. This one appears no better grounded in political reality than the round of proposals in 1976. First, it is based on an estimate of the Reagan administration that even the most diehard conservatives do not share. Phillips' comparing Reagan to Chamberlain is roughly equivalent to someone on the left comparing him to Hitler.

Second, it is based on a suspect political strategy, which depends for its success on a certain sleight of hand. While conservative Republicans often support the New Right's social as well as economic agenda, blue-collar Democrats can be won only if social issues become so important to them that they ignore the new right's conservative economics.

For example, Weyrich complained that the Reagan administration had failed to attract black voters. He noted that black males are the most uniformly "pro-life" group in the U.S. and suggested that they could be won over to conservative populism on this basis. But black males are much more likely to base their vote on economic issues (where they tend to be uniformly liberal) or on civil rights issues than on abortion.

In a recent article for *Election Politics*, a publication of a Weyrich affiliate, columnist Kevin Phillips argued that conservative populists cannot attract blue-collar Democratic voters with their current economic platform. "While they may jump up and down about the *Fortune* 500 favoring trade with the slave regimes of godless Communism...the conservative populists will not do anything to rouse the dander of their well-heeled contributors in California, Texas and Colorado."

The New Right's current proposals seem to reflect despair at their own impotence. "We are eclipsed by the president," Dolan admitted. "He speaks for the conservative movement, not us." But it also reflects a realization that, without Reagan's charisma, the Republican Party would revert to the party of bankers, oil men and country-club golfers.

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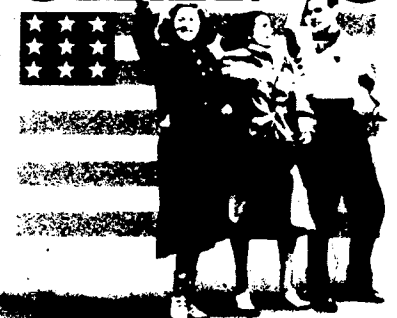
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EL SALVADOR

Election: exercise in cynicism

By Chris Norton

SAN SALVADOR

SALVADORANS WILL GO TO THE polls Sunday, March 25, to elect a president, but they'll do it with a notable lack of enthusiasm. "The elections won't solve anything," people say outspokenly when they feel it's safe to speak. People are perceptibly more cynical than they were in 1982, when some hoped the election would bring the promised "peace and democracy."

Instead, they've experienced two more years of economic deterioration, continued violence and death-squad activity as well as a political deadlock in the Constituent Assembly. And, of course, the war goes on.

"I believed the last election would improve things—bring peace, democracy. But instead things have just gotten worse," says a marketwoman standing in front of her stall piled high with vegetables she has trouble selling these days.

This belief appears unanimous: the elections won't do anything. Many say what's needed is a dialogue with the guerrillas, but nobody seems hopeful. Elections have been a central part of the Reagan administration's strategy here, designed to give the repressive rightist regime a democratic facelift, which would help justify continued U.S. aid. Robert White, former ambassador to El Salvador, called the 1982 elections "the only victory the Reagan administration has won in El Salvador." But the upcoming elections don't promise to be a repeat performance.

The upcoming elections have exacerbated tensions between the Christian Democrats and the ultra-right ARENA party (National Republican Alliance). A win by either threatens to destroy the fragile balance among forces that fitfully coexist. The Christian Democrats, led by ex-president Jose Napoleon Duarte, will probably poll the most votes, slightly more than a third. The ARENA candidate, death-squad organizer Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson, is expected to closely trail Duarte. Third place will probably go to the National Conciliation Party (PCN), the traditional party of the military until the 1979 officers' coup.

The parties polling first and second will go into a run-off election a month after the ballots are counted. Both will cut deals for the support of the other party, and, of course, the U.S. will wheel and deal to serve its interests. But that may not be easy.

If the Christian Democrats or ARENA wins, Reagan will face a policy dilemma. If the Christian Democrats win, they will face the determined opposition of the right-wing business sector. A business strike to destabilize the government and a second round of capital flight can be expected, as well as an upsurge in killings by ARENA members and allies in the security forces who, according to one Salvadoran political observer, "won't take an ARENA defeat in stride."

Duarte and the Christian Democrats will also face problems with the military, who "hate Duarte," according to the same observer. While most of the high command and lieutenant colonels in the field are ideologically more right, dependence on U.S. military aid has instilled a degree of pragmatism in them. Because of U.S. pressure, a coup against Duarte would be unlikely at the outset. If the country was in chaos because of a full-scale private sector destabilization, the army and the U.S. itself might abandon a failing Duarte.

If, as one political observer puts it, the Christian Democrats are presentable abroad but nonviable internally, then ARENA has the opposite problem: it is

viable internally but unacceptable abroad.

A win by D'Aubuisson, who is identified in the U.S. with the death squads, would prompt congressional action to cut off aid to El Salvador. While D'Aubuisson, with strong support from the right-wing private sector, might be tempted to try the Guatemalan option—telling the U.S. to get lost and going it alone—the Salvadoran military and economy is in too precarious a position to choose that route. Thus the military, although close to D'Aubuisson ideologically, might move against him if it saw its interests, and the existence of the army as an institution, threatened.

According to one source, the powerful "clique" of top lieutenant colonels prefers Fidel Chavez Mena, the rightist Christian Democratic minister of foreign relations who has good connections with the private sector. But when the Christian Democrats instead chose Duarte, the clique's preference became the PCN candidate Francisco "Chache" Guerrero, a right-wing lawyer connected to the large cotton growers who was instrumental in turning back El Salvador's first attempts at agrarian reform under Gen. Molina in 1972.

The U.S. is also rumored to support the PCN, although the embassy claims it is scrupulously neutral. There is no denying, however, that a PCN win would be best for U.S. interests. One source said embassy officials have termed Guerrero "conservative enough to be reliable and progressive enough to be salable."

Since the 1982 election, the PCN has acquiesced to U.S. pressure, moving away from ARENA and voting with the Christian Democrats to maintain the reforms, albeit in gutted form. The PCN would also be acceptable to the private sector and the military, which is crucial to the war effort.

Despite 20 years of running the official government machinery across the country, the PCN's space has shrunk. If it replaces the Christian Democrats or ARENA from the top two spots, it will likely be an incredible upset or a U.S.-Salvadoran-engineered fraud.

The history of honest elections in El Salvador begins and ends with the election that brought a reformer to power in 1931. He lasted nine months before the military deposed him. An insurrection in 1932 against the military, which has again this year annulled election of leftist candidates, resulted in the massacre of 30,000 workers and peasants and the extermination of Indian culture in El Salvador. That same year inaugurated a procession of military governments ratified by predictably fraudulent elections. Change came in the '60s when a newly swelled middle class, created by the country's industrial boom, established new political parties and demanded greater participation in the political process.

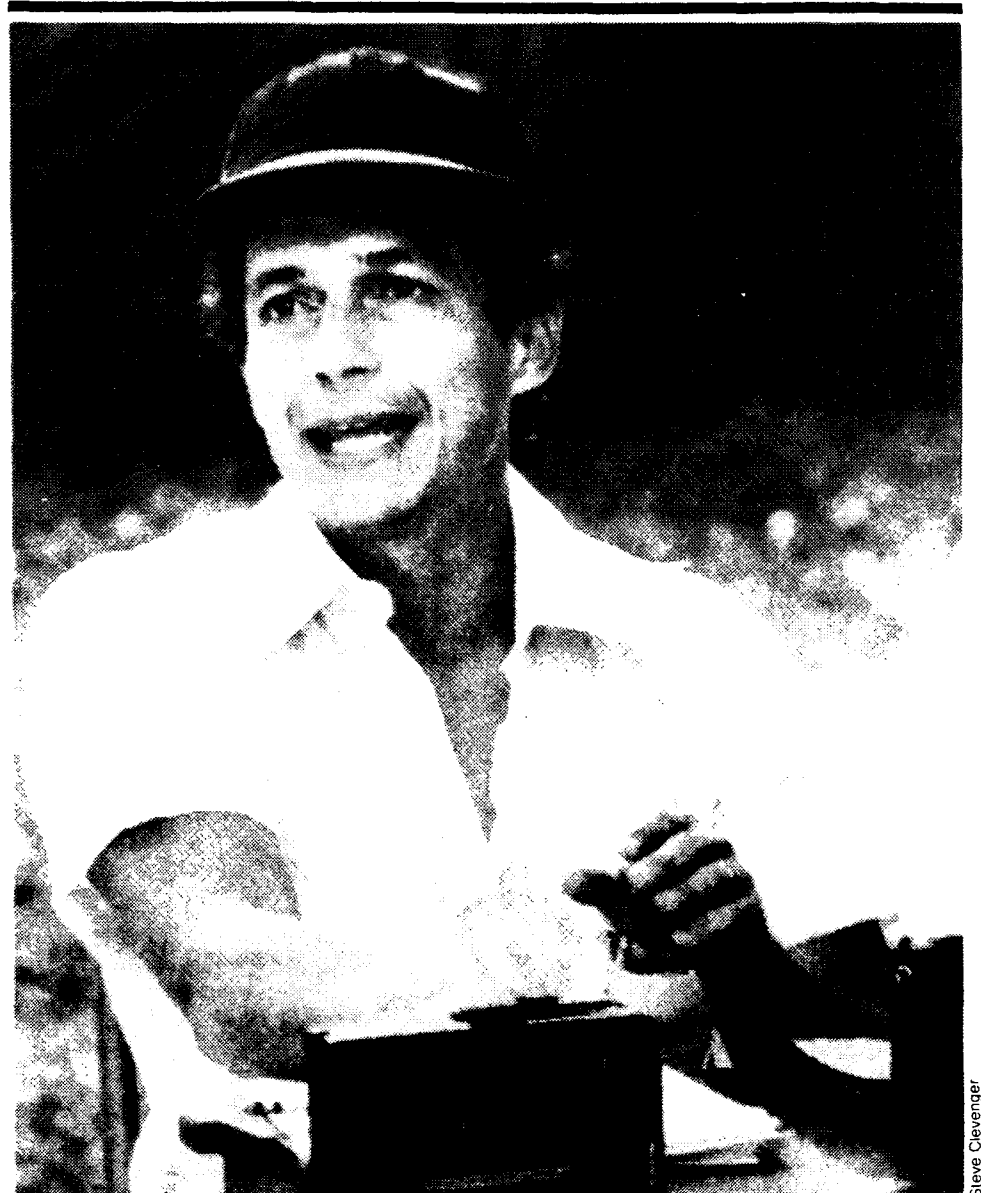
Most historians see 1972 as a turning point. "1972 was the last chance Salvadorans had for any real change," says an

Whether ARENA or the Christian Democrats win, Reagan faces a policy dilemma.

exiled researcher in Mexico City. He is linked to the social democratic National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), a member of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), part of the FDR-FMLN coalition that is at war with the government. (It has announced that the war will continue before, during and after the

elections.) He continues, "The Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Communists were all in a coalition, seeking political participation in the electoral process. Duarte and [FDR leader Guillermo] Ungo won, but there was fraud and the military stole the election. Out of frustration with the lack of any democratic political opening, many groups started turning to arms as the only means to change things. This history of electoral fraud lays the base for what exists now:

IN THE WORLD



A win by ARENA candidate Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson wouldn't please Congress.

political polarization and war."

In 1979 there were fraudulent elections again. When they were protested, the army and police opened fire on crowds, killing more than 100. The 1982 elections were designed to legitimize the Salvadoran regime and convince the American public that democracy was indeed being built. The media generally bought the administration line, portraying the election as a means to peace and democracy threatened by guerrillas bent on destruction.

Yet the real story was one of coercion of voters—some of it subtle, some not. Voting is obligatory in El Salvador. Voters receive a stamp in their identification books when they vote; government workers must show the stamp to receive their paycheck. And to drive the message home further, Gen. Garcia, then head of the armed forces, publicly warned the population a week before the election that those not voting would be considered guerrilla sympathizers—not an idle threat in a country where 40,000 people have been killed for such suspicion.

The same coercive atmosphere exists in the present. One high church official who asked not to be named said people would vote for one of three reasons: because they are party supporters, because they believe or hope that the elections would bring peace or because of fear of either getting fined if they don't vote or of be-

One cab driver, in the confessional-like privacy of his taxi, said, "Among people here, among the workers, no one believes in the elections. Since the last election things have gotten much worse. For someone who works, like me, there are days when I eat and days when I don't." Economic conditions are miserable. Real wages for low-paid workers fell 70 percent between 1979 and 1983. A wage freeze has been in effect since 1980 and, although there is technically a price freeze on basic commodities as well, it is not enforced. During the same four-year period, the general price index increased 97 percent.

Public sector workers have borne the brunt of the falling standard of living, since in some private sector workplaces employees have received fringe benefits or bonuses to offset the wage freeze. Pub-

lic sector unions tried to negotiate for pay raises in the last few years. Finally, in late February, the 5,000-person Social Security Institute workers union held a work stoppage (a strike would have been illegal). Soon they were joined by the water utility workers and several other public sector unions.

The government responded with both the carrot and the stick, offering a 10 percent wage hike to all public sector workers in an attempt to head off the growing wave of strikes. At the same time the chief of staff of the army's high command, Col. Adolfo Blandon, called the strikes part of a campaign by leftist agitators to destabilize the country before the election. While one of the unions is affiliated with FENASTRAS (a union federation with links to the guerrilla organization's national resistance), the timing of the strike was also logical—it might be safer because of the presence of many foreigners observing the elections.

That didn't keep the security forces from occupying several of the striking workplaces. Not surprisingly, these unions settled within days but ended up with more than the 10 percent the government had offered. Seeing that, other public sector unions may also choose to strike.

Chris Norton is on assignment in El Salvador.

"THE FIRST TIME I GOT UP ON the floor at a VEA (Virginia Education Association) convention, the paper was shaking so violently that, when I sat down, people started laughing," remembers Mary Hatwood Futrell. "They were laughing because I was so nervous that they didn't see how I could read the paper." That was 15 years ago, when Futrell was a forceful but politically inexperienced black caucus leader in the newly integrated VEA.

Today, as the president of the 1,675,000-member National Education Association (NEA), Futrell is confident enough to laugh about past embarrassments. Lately she has spent much of her time challenging her organization's most powerful adversary, Ronald Reagan. In July, at her inaugural address to the NEA annual convention the 43-year-old Futrell told 7,200 teacher leaders that "I am determined that the president of the U.S. shall be held accountable for his actions as fully as he holds us accountable for ours."

Later that week, after Reagan chastized the NEA in a speech to the rival American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Futrell responded with the personal touch she often uses to lighten tense situations: "[AFT President Albert] Shanker may have President Reagan at his convention, but I have my mother."

Futrell's rise to the top of the NEA parallels the teacher organization's surprising and swift transformation from a conservative, sometimes racist professional association into a militant trade union with the strongest civil rights and affirmative action policies of any major U.S. labor organization. When she was elected in July, the NEA became the only nationwide private U.S. organization of any kind headed by a black person. She is the third black to head the NEA in the last 15 years. Yet 20 years ago, when Futrell started teaching in the Alexandria, Va., public schools, NEA was still a racially divided organization, with segregated affiliates in 11 Southern states and no blacks in significant leadership posts.

A warm and personal style has helped Futrell attract the support she needed to move up in the ranks of the NEA.

Futrell's informality and open discussion of her own strengths, weaknesses, goals and fears win friends for her every time she speaks. And she'll need all of her persuasive skills to lead the powerful but embattled NEA.

The union's many critics charge that it has become a selfish teachers' craft union, which resists changes needed to improve the quality of education. NEA's growing political power has contributed to that image. Since 1976, when the NEA played an essential role in Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign, it has been one of the most powerful forces within the Democratic Party, sending more delegates to party conventions than any other organization.

To understand the difficulties facing Futrell, one must know something of her chief rival, Albert Shanker, who has positioned himself as the more moderate teacher leader. This represents an ironic reversal from the early '60s, when the AFT wooed tens of thousands of members away from the NEA by challenging NEA's racism and its opposition—long since abandoned—to teacher unionism and teacher strikes.

The NEA today stands to the left of its similar, AFL-CIO affiliated rival on most issues. In school systems with a history of hiring discrimination, the NEA argues, seniority rules should be set aside to preserve minority jobs during periods of layoffs. Shanker is the labor movement's most vociferous opponent of minority quotas, and his union demands strict adherence to seniority rules.

While the NEA opposes U.S. involvement in Central America and is an active supporter of nuclear disarmament groups, the AFT tends to favor a hard-line U.S. foreign and military policy. Though both groups have expressed reservations about proposals to give higher salaries to "better" teachers, AFT has been more open to these merit-pay proposals. As a result, Shanker—though still



By Steve Askin



NEA President Mary Futrell

a liberal Democrat on domestic economic issues—has become something of a neo-conservative hero.

The conservative indictment of NEA was laid out most forcefully in *Commentary* magazine last year, when Chester Finn condemned the association for "declaring war on standardized testing"; waging a "shrill, well-coordinated and sustained" attack against Reagan administration budget cuts; supporting "compulsory busing"; demanding "exacting federal requirements for the education of handicapped children"; and, more generally, working to lower schools' educational and disciplinary standards. Though not uncritical of the AFT, he opined "whether one views Shanker as an educational statesman or as a crafty guardian-nurturer of a goose that lays golden eggs, a public school run according to his lights would probably be a better school than most children attend today."

Futrell is an activist in the modern NEA mold. Before winning the presidency, she spent four years as NEA secretary-treasurer, defending and sometimes devising the policies that make the group controversial. "Some of those issues have taken more time and received more emphasis than perhaps they should have," Futrell said in an interview shortly before she took office, but "I by no means believe we should abandon our support of peace or ERA, or human or civil rights and gun control," she said. "Those are issues that do impact on us as educators and do impact on the children."

In describing educational problems, Futrell has adopted some of the rhetoric of conservative education reformers, but she reshapes it to very different ends. "The last thing I would want in my school is an incompetent teacher," the NEA leader told a sometimes hostile congressional committee last year. A colleague who doesn't know the subject or doesn't teach well "makes my job more difficult in the long run," she said.

At last year's NEA convention, Futrell displayed flexibility by successfully opposing an attempt by some delegates to commit the organization to opposing any and all merit pay plans. But she shares the skepticism of her organization's more militant merit-pay opponents. Such pay systems have traditionally been used "to keep women's and minorities' salaries depressed," she argues. Futrell fears that if

administrators are given freedom to set merit-pay rates, they will reward their personal favorites, not the best teachers. But that isn't her only concern.

She also worries about the children who don't get a "meritorious" teacher. "In my school system, we have kids whose parents are in Congress, kids whose parents work in the Pentagon and kids who are on welfare and live in the ghetto," she said. If merit pay comes to Alexandria, Va., people who have political influence or economic influence, will demand the meritorious teacher," she predicted. "What are we going to do with the other kids?"

Instead of merit pay, Futrell wants school systems to recruit the most talented college graduates as teachers and help them continue improving their skills after they enter the profession. Though skeptical about most existing proposals for "master teachers," Futrell said that NEA would support "career ladder" plans that provide higher pay—and more responsibility—for the most skillful educators, without taking them out of the classroom.

But she proposes no major changes in the ways schools function. Instead, she stresses the need for more and better resources; improved textbooks, smaller class sizes, added federal aid and higher pay. She insists her concern about salaries is not simply a matter of self interest for NEA members. To Futrell "it is absolutely disgraceful" that the average starting salary for teachers is under \$13,000 a year, far less than entry-level pay for most other college-educated professionals. To persuade top college graduates to go into teaching instead of engineering, computer science, or other well-paid professions, schools must offer higher pay, she says.

Despite her opposition to some popular school reform plans, critics will find it difficult to pin the anti-education label on Futrell, whose pedagogical views and methods reflect her strict upbringing in rural Virginia and her background as an effective, hard-working, no-nonsense high school business teacher.

Growing up poor.

Futrell grew up under arduous circumstances in southern Virginia near Lynchburg. She was five years old when her father, a construction worker, died, leaving huge medical bills.

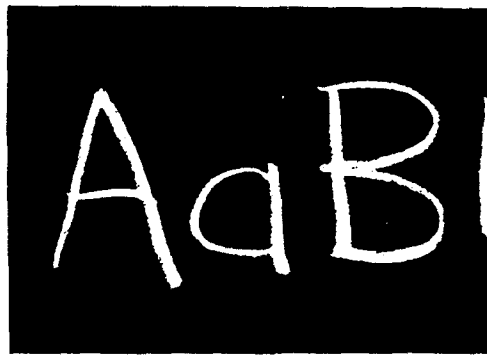
As a child she sometimes rebelled against the strict discipline imposed by her mother, a domestic worker who put in long hours to pay the bills and support two children. "Often times we would go to bed at night before she came home from work, but we had to leave the homework on the table for her to look at and see that it was done," Futrell reminisces. "And if she came home and we had not completed our tasks, because she left things for us to do, we would have to get up and do them."

Her mother was a fanatic about education, she confides. "She worked three jobs and yet she came to school, not just for PTA meetings, but simply to see how we were doing."

This ethos shaped both Futrell's desire to teach and her values as a teacher. "She taught kids respect and confidence, and she wasn't going to let them down, even if it meant going against what they wanted to do," says Shirley Greenwood, who got to know Futrell when they both taught at Alexandria's George Washington High School, where Futrell headed the business education department.

Colleagues remember Futrell as an intensely dedicated teacher, even something of a workaholic. When others went home, she was the teacher who stayed after school to give students extra help. She found time for a wide range of volunteer activities—usually related to education—with the NAACP, Urban League and several interracial human relations programs.

Frank Masters, Education Association of Alexandria (EAA) president in the late '60s and now NEA research director, likes to claim credit for "discovering" Futrell as a teacher leader. Masters, narrowly elected on a "somewhat radical" and pro-



civil rights platform, was looking for allies who could represent black teachers without alienating whites. Futrell's "strong, outspoken, yet very positive" personality impressed him, so he appointed her to an EAA negotiating committee.

She was a wise choice. Futrell's warmth made her popular with teachers, and she quickly emerged as a local teacher leader. Alexandria teachers elected her a delegate to state and national conventions, where she became a key black caucus activist. In 1973, they picked her as president of the EAA. In 1976, following a contested election, she became the VEA's first black president.

"What made me want to become a leader was that as a classroom teacher I began to feel a great deal of frustration in



New tea
head is
to better

Cc Dd Ee Ff Gg

not having a voice in what would happen in my classroom, what would happen in my school, what would happen in my profession. I needed to find a way to express those frustrations," Futrell now says. "I was very concerned about the number of black teachers being displaced or dismissed when schools integrated [in other parts of the south], the number of coaches and administrators demoted, the number of minority children either being suspended or expelled from school...and the content of our history books. I was concerned that black and white students be able to get along."

Her reputation as a dedicated educator helped Futrell obtain respect even from adversaries. "I remember Mary more as one of Alexandria's outstanding teachers

than as a leader of the EAA," says Republican city council member Carlyle Ring, then a school board member and sometimes critic of the teachers' organization.

"You'll get a much nicer report from me about Mary, then you'll get from Mary about me," says A. Samuel Cook, a lawyer and management negotiator who fought her across the bargaining table. "She knows you can catch more bees with honey than with vinegar."

Yet Futrell was no pushover for management. "She was a fine young lady, but with a head that wouldn't be changed around if she thought she was right," said former Alexandria school board chairman Henry Brooks.

To black school board members she

was a valued ally. Fred Day, the first black to head the Alexandria school board, remembers her as a "mobilizing factor" for school integration and equal treatment of black students.

"Even though it wasn't necessarily part of her role as president of the EAA, she always spoke out when she felt that kids' rights were being trampled on," adds Shirley Tyler, who served nine years on the board.

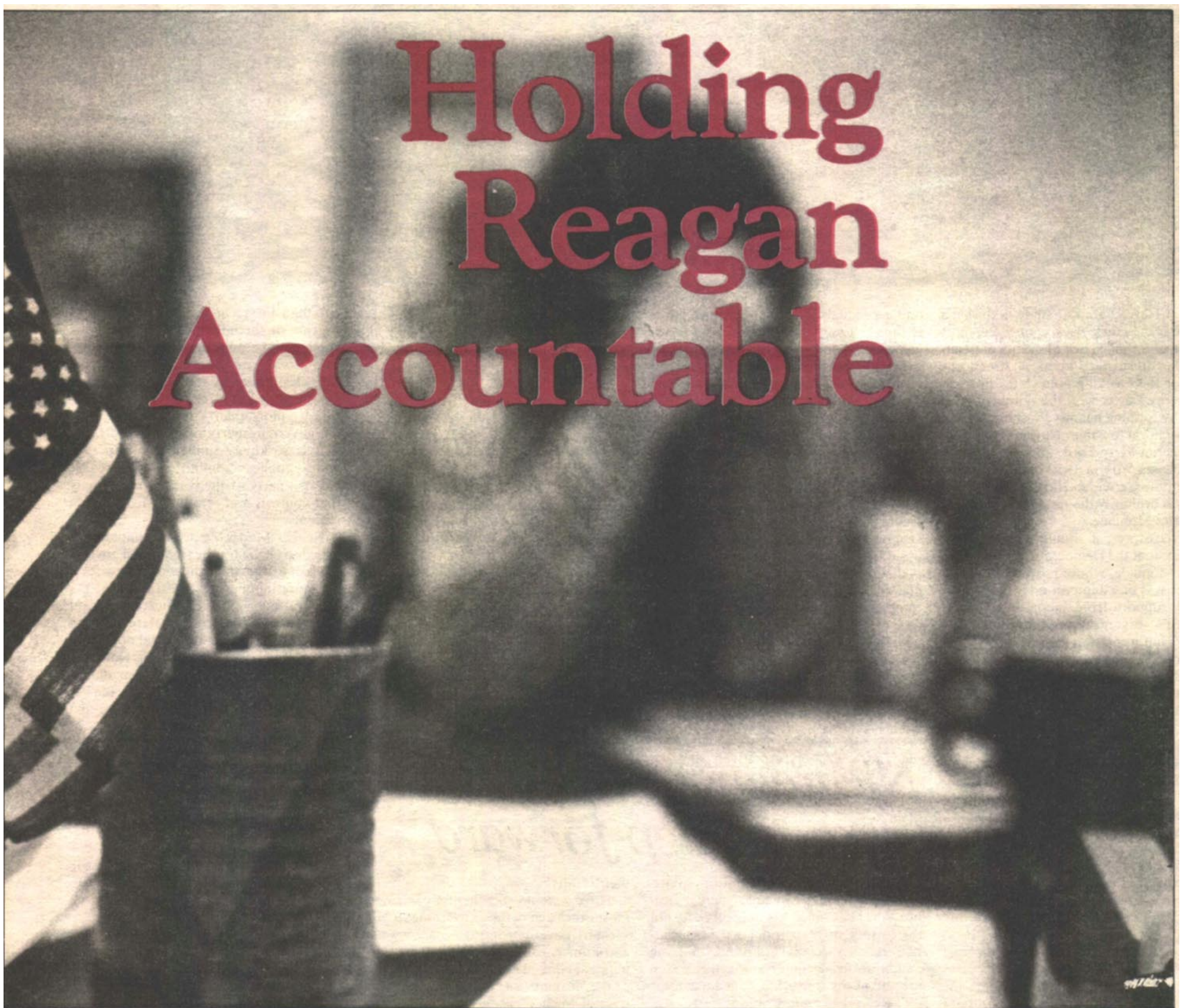
Futrell hadn't known it at the time, but 1963, her first year teaching, was the turning point for the NEA. For nearly a decade after the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* school desegregation, NEA leaders—afraid of alienating southern white members—remained virtually silent on civil rights issues.

In 1960 the Pittsburgh editorial had condemned the "misnamed National Education Association" for "maintaining separate Jim Crow chapters of Negro teachers" and "virtually backing the position of the most reactionary southern white elements." AFT officials publicly condemned NEA's "shameful neglect of the principles of democracy."

NEA moved to change only after it felt some pressure from the then more liberal AFT. In 1962, NAACP labor secretary Herbert Hill and other civil rights advocates backed AFT's successful fight against NEA for the right to represent New York City school teachers.

But at its 1963 convention the NEA began to eliminate internal segregation. The process dragged on through the rest of the decade, yet by the early '70s—when national association officials first recognized her leadership potential—the NEA had developed a unique system of formal programs for encouraging minority participation. In merger talks with the black American Teachers Association, NEA agreed to adopt a controversial plan guaranteeing minority group members 20 percent of the seats on all national leadership bodies.

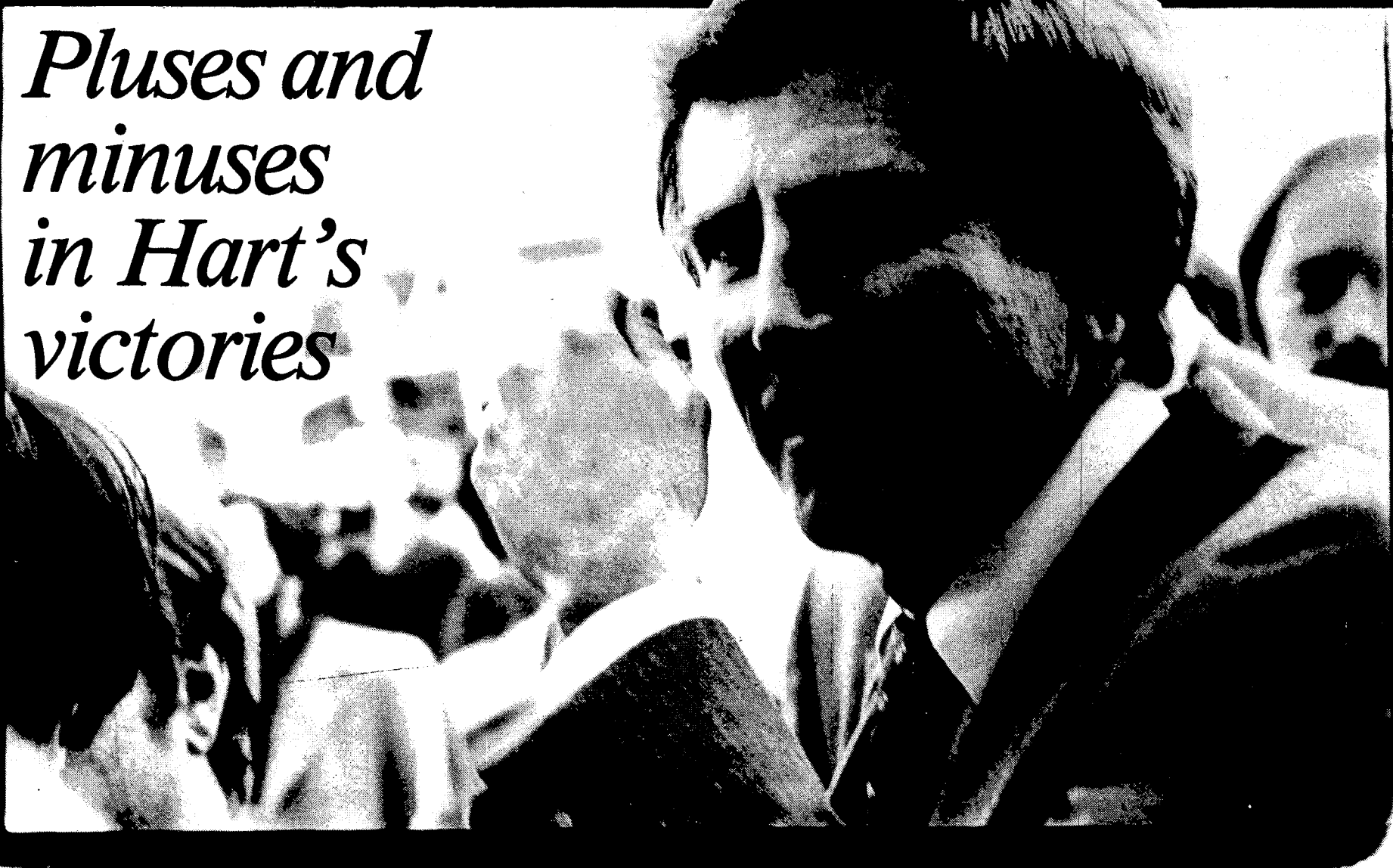
Continued on page 22



teachers' union
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EDITORIAL

Pluses and minuses in Hart's victories



Gary Hart's lightning surge to the head of the Democratic pack is only the most recent of a long series of events illustrating the dissatisfaction most Americans feel for their leading politicians. For just as Jimmy Carter won the nomination in 1976 by running against Washington and then went on to win in November by running as not-Jerry Ford, and just as Ronald Reagan won in 1980 because he was not Jimmy Carter, so Hart's string of victories is primarily the result of his not being Fritz Mondale.

In retrospect, it should have been no surprise that the Democratic voters would reject Mondale, whose position as front-runner was based in part on his organizational support from labor and various women's organizations, most notably NOW, but mostly on the fact that he was not John Glenn. Every pollster knew that Mondale's commanding lead masked a fundamental weakness—in their words, that his support was soft.

As long as his leading rival seemed to be Glenn, a military man who supports most of Reagan's foreign policy and military buildup, Mondale was able to maintain his lead among Democrats. But when the Iowa caucuses demonstrated Glenn's lack of popular support and the possibility of someone not identified as an insider emerging as an alternative, the floodgates opened and Hart swept on through.

There are pluses and minuses in Hart's victories and in the possibility of his nomination, but these have little to do with differences between Mondale and Hart on the issues or on matters of principle. The two are close together on the spectrum of American politics, and both are about as far to the left as one could expect a successful candidate to be in the present political situation.

The main plus in a Hart nomination is that he would have a better chance to defeat Reagan in November than would Mondale. We believe that Reagan is a lot weaker than most political pundits and various pollsters make out—especially if labor, blacks, Hispanics, women and the elderly can be brought to the polls in large numbers come November. But if Mondale is the candidate, Reagan can do a rerun of his 1980 campaign and survive

on his residuals. He'll have a much harder time running against Hart, who is not yet encumbered with the failure of his policies or his "new" ideas, but who will be able freely to attack Reagan in the name of freshness and youth.

The main minus in Hart's victories so far, and possibly in his candidacy, is that they will be seen as, and in some degrees may be, defeats for labor and for the organized women's movement. Labor's and the women's movement's attempts to secure positions of influence within a new Democratic administration have obviously suffered a setback with the popular repudiation of their man. And labor's popular image has suffered some from the campaign against Mondale as the candidate of "special interests"—as if working people and women, rather than the corporate giants that Reagan so openly serves, were narrow interest groups.

But if Hart wins the nomination he will need the active support of labor and the women's movement, as well as that of

Like Carter and Reagan before him, Hart's success is due to who he is not.

Jesse Jackson and other black leaders, in order to prevail in the general election. And if Hart is elected, labor and women's and black organizations will have a freedom of action they would not have in a Mondale administration. They will be less constrained in criticizing the new president, because he will not be "their man."

As happens every four years, we are witnessing the process by which the Democrats put together their electoral party. This year it could be a bit further to the

left than in recent presidential elections because of the million or two new black voters and because both labor and women's groups are more actively involved. This electoral party is needed to mobilize votes, but it has rarely survived the election by more than a few months. Then the governing party takes over—a party that is strikingly similar in Democratic and Republican administrations, because it is the party of the corporate oligarchy that controls and sets our priorities as a nation.

Neither Mondale nor Hart appears inclined to challenge the traditional governing party, though both would allow for a bit more input from constituents of the electoral party. But for those who want to see a new and truly different set of principles governing our social policies, a victory for either Mondale or Hart is a necessary first step. As long as an administration like Reagan's is in office, the left has no space to develop on its own and still be relevant.

Nicaraguan elections are a big step forward

The decision of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua to hold general elections on November 4 is unprecedented in the history of revolutions led by socialists. It is especially gratifying that the Sandinista leadership has taken this step in spite of the war being waged against it by Reagan administration surrogates from Honduras and Costa Rica, a situation that could well have served as a reason for indefinite postponement.

The elections, combined with an extension of the partial amnesty for opponents of the regime, should serve as a way of measuring the degree of popular support enjoyed by the Sandinistas. Everyone, even the Reagan administration, expects that the government will win a large majority when the votes are counted—which is one reason for the administration's refusal to welcome the elections or to commit the United States to acceptance of

their results.

There were no such hesitations among most other democratic governments. The socialist governments of Spain, Sweden and France, as well as the Socialist International all applauded the announcement of the November 4 elections. Representatives of Mexico, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic and Argentina saw potential in the move for a normalization of relations in Central America. Former Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez observed that the United States now "should change its position on the Nicaraguan political process." And in West Germany both the ruling Christian Democratic Party and the opposition Social Democrats said they consider the announcement of the elections "an important demonstration of the Sandinista government's will to maintain a system of pluralist democracy."

Inside Nicaragua, the opposition parties—the Social Christians, Social Democrats, Constitutionalist Liberals and the Democratic Conservatives—are leaning toward abstention. They are holding out for supervision of the elections by the Organization of American States (OAS), which was demanded by Secretary of State George Shultz, and categorically rejected as a denial of Nicaragua's sovereignty by Sandinista leaders. Members and leaders of the opposition who favor participation, like the president of the Constitutionalist Liberals, are being pushed aside, apparently so that the Reagan administration will have a group inside Nicaragua to use as legitimation for its refusal to recognize the elections as a major step in the direction it claims to want Nicaragua to take.

We do not know how fully open and democratic, even with the best of intentions, an election can be under the wartime conditions prevailing in Nicaragua. But we also welcome this indication that the principle of democratic pluralism is finally being recognized by socialists who have come to power through armed insurrection.

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

CIVIL EQUALITY

ALTHOUGH I DO NOT EXPECT MY supporters to agree with all my positions, I am distressed that Emily DeHuff (Letters, *ITT*, Feb. 29) invoked my name in opposing the Minneapolis Pornography Ordinance. Unlike DeHuff, I support the amendment to the Civil Rights Law that would make pornography a form of discrimination on the basis of sex and a violation of human rights.

Pornography is sexual exploitation, often of an unspeakably cruel nature, not a portrayal of "perfectly natural impulses" as DeHuff says. The sexual subordination of women, which is the essence of pornographic sex, is the opposite of equality. The whole meaning of my life as a feminist is the struggle for equality. In my view, pornography entirely subverts the efforts of women toward civil equality and equal protection under the law—the principles underlying the 14th Amendment. It is exploitation on the basis of sex.

The First Amendment does not guarantee the rights of men to buy and sell women; nor does it sanction, promote or protect the civil and sexual subordination of women; nor does it command women to acquiesce in our own destruction by accepting sexual hatred of us as public or private entertainment. Despite the First Amendment, women have been kept silent for the two centuries of this Republic through exclusion, discrimination and sexual assault; and the First Amendment has not been used to expand real rights of speech for women, minorities or the poor.

I am sorry that the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union did not see this new idea as an opportunity to expand civil liberties to women.

—Sonia Johnson
Arlington, Va.

MIMICS

WE FIND IT DISCONCERTING THAT recent *In These Times* coverage of the Mideast has been so superficial and cautious. Dilip Hiro's article (*ITT*, Feb. 29) on Lebanon was especially disappointing, mimicking as it did the anti-Arab racism of the establishment press.

Ignoring the increasingly apparent economic and anti-imperialist basis for the struggle of the Lebanese people against the Gemayel regime and his American and Israeli backers, Hiro insists on cutting the issue along religious lines.

According to Hiro, the Lebanese militia are good fighters because of "unquestioning loyalty" to leaders, "belief in reincarnation" and "religious martyrdom." If we wanted to read the "religious fanatics" spiel we would have picked up *Newsweek* or the *New York Times*. Is racism and anti-Semitism (the Arabs being a Semitic people) now "in" at *In These Times* also?

Certainly progressives would not characterize the followers of El Salvador's Archbishop Romero as fanatics. How long will anti-Arab racism distort our view of the conflict in the Mideast?

Can we afford to delay confronting the issues of U.S. imperialism, Zionist colonial aims, the revolutionary aspirations of Arab peoples and the Palestinian right to self-determination?

—Carla F. Wallace and Chris Cutells
Louisville, Ky.

ROUGE

PROF. JEFFREY COX OF THE UNIVERSITY of London (*ITT*, Feb. 22) expresses the opinion that Neil Kinnock, the Labour Party leader in England, "may lead a left resurgence." If he does, it will be a cosmetic effort under establishment auspices.

Kinnock represents chiefly organized labor, an aging and diminishing class. Tony Benn, whom Cox does not mention, and others represent the young, the unemployed, the underemployed, the non-white and women.

In a recent speaking tour of the U.S., publicized by the British Information Services, Kinnock spoke especially about the Northern Ireland civil war. He said that he favors the reunification of Ireland, but he offered no hope of its early accomplishment. He said: "The reunification is going to be extremely painstaking and take the most monumental act of reassurance over the next several generations." Meanwhile, with unemployment rates twice that of England and the suspension of civil liberties protections, the people of Northern Ireland—especially the ethnic group labeled Roman Catholic—are to suffer on and on.

—Alfred McClung Lee
Drew University, Madison, N.J.

BANANAS

NEW ORLEANS IS THE BANANA REPUBLIC. Toasts to Kalamu ya Salaam (*ITT*, Feb. 1) for breaking down the reality of New Orleans. Come Mardi Gras, the Worlds Fair, whenever, remember what he wrote. And whether you are in New Orleans, or anywhere else in the world, his analysis of despair is important for all freedom fighters and "arm-chair others" to use.

—Beth Butler
New Orleans

CLASSLESS

IN HIS REVIEW OF STANLEY ARONOWITZ' recent book (*ITT*, Feb. 29), Michael Harrington correctly suggests that "at a time when labor desperately needs debate and discussion—new departures in both theory and practice—there is not much going on." But he doesn't recognize the obstacles standing in the way of such an intellectual renaissance. "The stratum of middle-class intellectuals who identified with the unions [has] declined," he writes. But he doesn't draw the obvious conclusion that as a result there is little demand for insights from a new generation of socialist intellectuals committed to furthering the cause of labor. Certainly the vast majority of the membership of the DSA, which he leads, has no use for a class-based politics or perspective.

He argues that working-class intellectuals have been "weakened" because of the availability of college education. We should not forget, however, that for many students college compensates for the wasted years of high school: it is where one can finally learn to read and write. Moreover, it is a place to learn how to struggle. Those organizing against cuts in financial aid and affirmative action are receiving an excellent education.

—Jared Epstein
Los Angeles

QUERY

THE BUTTE HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS in the process of preparing a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places for the Socialist Hall in Butte. It was built in 1916 during the height of Socialist activity here. It is now a sporting goods store, but the plaque on the parapet of the facade still reads "Socialist Hall, 1916."

We are wondering how many, if any, other Socialist Halls or other buildings representing the Socialist era are either on the National Register or in existence in the U.S. We wrote the National Register and asked, but they do not have a data retrieval system that allows them to see if any of the over 50,000 structures on the National Register represent the Socialist movement. They recommended we contact a Socialist organization. As a subscriber to *In These Times* I thought your readers might know where we might turn.

Do you have any records that might help us out? Can you suggest where we might go for this information? It occurs to us that if there are not such other buildings surviving in the U.S., our Socialist Hall would be of national significance.

Thank you for any assistance you can provide.

—Fredric L. Quivik
Butte Historical Society,
Box 3913, Butte, Mont. 59701

CARLO WOLFF REGRETS

I WOULD LIKE TO CORRECT ERRORS that appeared in my profile of novelist William Kennedy (*ITT*, Jan. 25):

Kennedy is an only child, not one of 10 children.

He and film director Francis Ford Coppola collaborated on 28, not 29 scripts for "Cotton Club" in Astoria Studio in Queens, not a Central Park South hotel room.

—Carlo Wolff
Albany, N.Y.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

BEQUESTS

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *In These Times*.

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STAFF NOTES



Dolores Wilber, *In These Times'* long-time, award-winning art director has left the paper and taken a step upward. (She and Tom Greensfelder, also a former *In These Times* art director,

have opened a graphic arts studio on the third floor of our Chicago building). Even though we hope to continue to see a lot of her, we will miss having Dolores on the staff. Under her leadership the appearance of the paper, building on a strong foundation, improved steadily, as did the stability and professionalism of the art department.

Our new art director is Miles DeCoster, who has been associate art director for the past year. We expect Miles will put the stamp of his personality and imagination on the paper in the months and years ahead. Nicole Ferentz will now be associate art director.

Our new assistant art director is Peter Hannan. Peter is a painter and illustrator who, in addition to his other duties, will give us the capacity to do in-house illustrations.

Emily Young, our books editor and proof reader, has taken a three-month leave to go to Europe. Her replacement in the proof reading department is Barbara Schuler, who has been working as an intern and has written for us on nuclear power.

Jim Rinnert is growing increasingly restless on the typesetting console and hopes to win the Illinois lottery soon.

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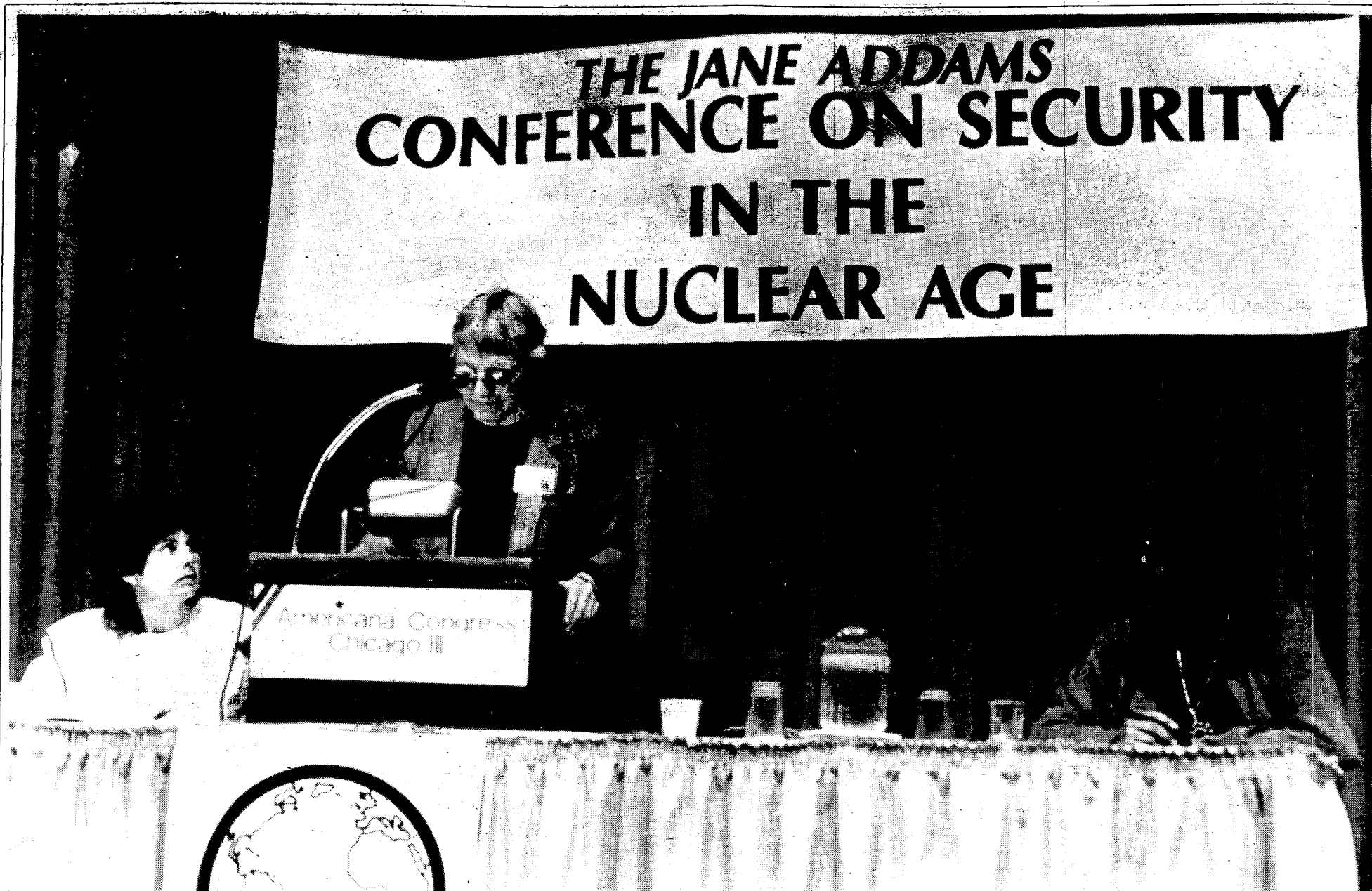
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STF1



PERSPECTIVES

Media freezes out women's meeting

By Patricia H. Strandt

THE SORT OF WOMEN WHO did their homework in school asked the teacher tough questions showed up in force at a March 3 all-day meeting in Chicago called "The Jane Addams Conference on Security in the Nuclear Age."

Nearly 1,000 of them packed into the Americana Congress' Great Hall and filled workshops to standing-room-only levels. Seventy-one organizations were official sponsors, four foundations helped contribute support and the speakers included leaders in nearly every field, including experts on defense and nuclear weaponry—among them physicians, psychiatrists and others spoke of the effects of our "defense" posture on children and the fabric of our society.

There were perhaps a score of males in the audience, but no male speakers. Conference planners claimed it was by far the largest such gathering ever held in the U.S.—"unique because it was independently run and came out of a grassroots need," said Sara Nesper, a conference publicity person.

Publicity—there's the rub. While all these women were talking about the chances their children and grandchildren had for a future and what the billions now spent on armaments was doing to the quality of life and security, no Chicago newspaper, radio or TV station mentioned the conference.

"We did everything right," Nesper said. "We sent out a press release in December and a bigger one in February with Hull House photos and quotes from Jane Addams. We scheduled an 8:00 a.m. press conference the day of the meeting

We had a promise or two and a few expressions of interest, but no one came. The only pre-conference story carried was in the *Chicago Defender*.

At the Congress, Dr. June Jackson Christmas, director of the program in behavioral science and medical professor at the School of Biomedical Education, City College of New York, noted that "the complexion of this room does not reflect this city and the area, and we have to find the people, where they are, and make that link.

"I speak to you as a black woman concerned with the institutionalized racism that has...kept many from having the strength and will to survive," Dr. Christmas said. "I also speak as a physician concerned with health problems," and what happens to people when a city hospital closes for lack of funds, and, she added, as a psychiatrist, and as a mother of three young adults.

"This is one of the reasons I work hard

to make Ronald Reagan a one-term president," she said to thundering applause. "We can only be strengthened if we reach out and involve poor women and minority women and listen to their concerns, so that we get not only peace but peace with justice."

Earlier, Ruth Adams, editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, spoke of the radioactive sand taken from Pacific atolls where bombs were tested, dumped farther out in the Pacific and declared "off limits" for two and a half million years. She noted that the bomb dropped on Hiroshima was 12.5 kilotons in power, but in the '50s, bombs were 16 times greater in strength, and by 1958, missiles carried three each. She noted that the only time the Russians were ahead of the U.S. in the matter of nuclear weapons was in 1958, in testing ICBMs, intercontinental ballistic missiles.

"The numbers are not important," she said, "but the accuracy is. All have 5,000 times the destructive power of everything used in World Wars I and II." About the only thing that had not been seriously contemplated was firing missiles from outer space, but President Reagan, in his so-called "Star Wars" speech last year (*In These Times*, March 14), indicated that's in the plans.

Gloria Duffy, executive director of Plowshares, San Francisco, and a fellow at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Arms Control, spoke on nuclear politics.

She traced the change from deterrence to planning for use, noting that the "effects of accurate and inaccurate weapons are equally incalculable."

The military economy

The following are highlights of conference speeches:

Are we now in a wartime economy?

Fifty percent of all engineers and scientists work on military-based items; 75 percent of government purchases are militarily based. (Anne Cahn)

What are some of the most effective ways we can act?

We should register 10 unregistered voters and get them to the polls and we should seek out four people who don't agree with us and get them to change their minds. Join groups, contribute, be active. (Cahn)

"Every 12 seconds another American

falls below the poverty line. During that same 12 seconds, \$47,000 more is spent on defense than on a dozen or more major social-benefit programs." (Cahn)

"Seventy-eight percent of the American people live in states that lose jobs every time the military budget goes up."

(Julia Burgess, co-chair, Jobs with Peace Campaign)

"Ten percent of your federal income taxes goes to nuclear weapons; 55 percent of your taxes to the military."

(Nancy Myers, director of development, Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign)

Anne Cahn, executive director of the Committee for National Security, Washington, D.C., said the major barriers to public support of arms control include the use of technical jargon and concepts, production of a generation or generations with no sense of the future and our excessive reliance on credentials, especially military credentials. Cahn noted that it wasn't until 1969 that a congressional armed services committee first permitted a non-military person to testify on arms control.

"The only reason we have the success that we do, a limited test ban on atmospheric and underwater testing of nuclear weapons, is that people were aroused and demonstrated" on Strontium 90 in the milk they and their children were drinking, and the publicity given to the Japanese fishermen hit by radiation in the "Lucky Dragon" fishing boat incident.

"Arms control only has a chance to succeed if we the people insist on it," Cahn said.

In response to a question from the floor, Cahn spoke about enjoying her eight months working in arms control in the Pentagon. "I was treated with respect, and my dissent was included on every paper," she said.

"Military men really do obey," Cahn added. "When you have a president really committed to arms control," it will make a difference. She said many scientists would like to work on non-military research, "but you need a president who wants to turn things around."

Patricia Strandt is director of publications, United Cement, Lime, Gypsum and Allied Workers International Union, Chicago.

"If women don't come together to address this issue, nothing will ever happen...like Fannie Lou Hamer, we're sick and tired of being sick and tired.... Now, substantial sections of the labor movement, including my own union, clearly understand the struggle for economic security and peace. My union has called for a nuclear, chemical and biological-warfare freeze, with verifiable tests and continuing negotiations for disarmament.... We must move to the most genuine security for our people, jobs and more jobs. The president claims America is on the road to recovery. That's shades of Hooverism."

(Addie Wyatt, vice-president, United Food and Commercial Workers)

—P.H.S.

PERSPECTIVES

It's time to let go of Central America

By Eldon Kenworthy

THE OBVIOUS TREND IN U.S. policy toward Central America over the past six months is military escalation. Last week I described that trend and offered reasons why the Reagan administration cannot prevail militarily without recreating Vietnam, which it may chance after the election. For the moment the administration is trapped between an ideology of "no more Cubas"—which it understands as no leftist governments regardless of their links to the Soviet Union—and the Republican Party's desire for re-election. Reagan's immediate problem is how to finesse Central America through November, his strategy is to throw money at client militaries and blow smoke at Congress and the public. Part of the smoke is diplomacy. Despite what it *does*, the Reagan administration *says* it seeks a negotiated solution to Central America's interwoven conflicts. Officially the administration endorses the Contadora process, the effort by Latin countries bordering Central America to find a peaceful solution. The administration's "two-track" policy is presented as military pressure in the cause of diplomatic success.

Attempts to reach a negotiated regional solution originated in Mexico, which presented detailed proposals to Washington some two years ago. Rebuffed by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Mexico then organized the Contadora group of four nations surrounding Central America. Reagan's real position on Mexico's efforts emerged in a leaked National Security Council document he approved in April 1982. The NSC plan for the subsequent two years was "to turn around Mexico" or at least to "isolate" her. Congressional pressure to negotiate would require "co-opt[ing] the negotiations issue," the document said, which is precisely what the administration has done. Hence the fate of Thomas Enders and, more recently, of Richard Stone, policymakers who apparently took the diplomatic "track" too seriously.

Through a series of meetings with representatives from the Central American countries, the Contadora negotiators arrived at 21 points that all agree on in principle. Recent months have focused on

Even if the Reagan administration's intentions in Central America were the best in the world—which they're not—it would be time to give up control and let other people govern themselves.



translating those points into enforceable accords. Two trends have been apparent. First, the forces Washington opposes *have* made major concessions. Second, those Washington supports have begun to pull back. Under the headline "Honduras Said to Snag Latin Peace Bid," the *New York Times* last December 15 reported a close observer of the Contadora negotiations as saying that:

"...El Salvador was uneasy about the prospect that it might be required to hold supervised elections open to all parties, while Honduras and Guatemala were reluctant to sign an agreement committing them to carrying out significant domestic changes. Honduras and El Salvador are said to be reluctant to agree to the withdrawal of American military advisers from their countries."

All along the administration has claimed what the Kissinger Report reiterated: that it doesn't object to revolution *per se*, but only to undue interference by "outside forces" in the affairs of Central America. Last July, Cuba and Nicaragua reiterated more clearly than before their willingness to enter into agreements banning foreign military bases and military advisers in Central America, halting arms trafficking across borders and limiting offensive weapons, all subject to verification. This would effectively end military assistance passing from the Soviet Union (or other countries) through Cuba to Nicaragua and, if true as charged, on to the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador.

Such an agreement, of course, would be as binding on Washington as on everyone else. The *sine qua non* of a diplomatic solution is: everyone plays by the same rules. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander in international diplomacy.

Washington could neither agree to this offer—reissued in greater detail by the Nicaraguans in October—nor make public its reasons for not doing so, since the real reason is embarrassing: "Our side" in the key Central American conflicts is more dependent on outside military transfusions than "their side," and less amenable to open, popular elections. Cut off U.S. aid to the *contras* or to the Salvadoran officers and watch them retreat *en masse* to Miami. Cut off Soviet and Cuban assistance to the Sandinistas and to the Salvadoran guerrillas and neither will fold. (Not that Washington has ever documented its assertion that outside aid reaching the Salvadoran guerrillas since

early 1981 has been significant.)

So over the past year the Reagan administration and its Central American allies have searched for additional conditions they hope the Sandinistas will reject, so that the onus of diplomatic failure will fall on Nicaragua. Internal democracy seemed a likely candidate, given the Sandinistas' disinclination to let outsiders tell them how to run their revolution. By late November, however, the Nicaraguans made concessions on this issue as well. Thus the diplomatic ante was raised to the point where, with the Sandinistas still in the game, U.S. clients are beginning to drop out. If the Nicaraguans go through with elections as planned in November, and if international observers pronounce them clean, Washington may have painted itself into a corner. What excuse can there be then for destabilizing the Sandinistas?

Double standards.

Looking back over two years of Contadora efforts to reach a peaceful solution to Central America's conflicts—and recalling that Nicaragua and Cuba have sought substantive bilateral talks with the Reagan administration since its first months in office—I can only conclude that Washington wants peace only on its terms. It wants the guerrillas to lay down their arms in El Salvador without the army doing likewise. It wants everyone else to stop supporting insurgents while it sponsors exiles attacking Nicaragua's government. It seeks an end to outside military aid, its own exempted. The Reagan administration insists on its right to destabilize governments it selectively accuses of being undemocratic. Bringing democracy to Nicaragua, we are told, justifies CIA-*contra* operations in violation of international norms while reforming Guatemala's military dictators requires giving them military and economic aid along with an occasional lecture.

Such a double standard is the stock-in-trade of an imperial power's behavior within its sphere of influence. In the last quarter of the 20th century, however, it is becoming harder to hide such impositions under the fig leaf of diplomacy, especially if the imperial power professes self-determination. Our allies in Latin America stand ready to fashion a diplomatic solution to the Central American crisis but not to lend their good offices to the principle that all nations are sovereign but

some more sovereign than others.

So the choice before the Reagan administration narrows to getting peace or getting its way. Peace can be had, should Washington throw its weight behind Contadora's 21 points. It is a peace, moreover, that should satisfy both the true interests of the U.S. and U.S. politicians' fear of public backlash. Why? Because Contadora effectively rules out a significant Soviet or Cuban military presence in Central America.

The price Washington must pay for that peaceful resolution is toleration of revolutionary movements *inside* the borders of Central American nations. In exchange for peace, Washington must give up control—control over things it has no right to manage, even if its intentions were the best in the world, which they're not.

I hope this metaphor won't be misunderstood; it grows out of the historical perception of Central America in the U.S., in which those nations were portrayed by U.S. political cartoonists as dependent women, children or picaninnies. Whoever thinks our leaders have outgrown such condescension should read *A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties*, a position paper written for Reagan's 1980 campaign by men, some of whom now serve in high policymaking roles: "Latin America, the traditional alliance partner of the United States, is being penetrated by Soviet power" and "sterilized by international Communism." The metaphor I offer is this: the tradeoff confronting Washington in Central America today is one parents of mature offspring should recognize. To mature communication requires relinquishing control. Parents accept that tradeoff if they're wise or live to regret it if they're stubborn.

Much hangs in the balance, above all the lives of countless Central Americans who did not choose to choose sides. Administration policy has been repudiated by most citizens outside the government with deep experience in the region, academics and clergy most notably. Their voices need amplification by others across this land if the coming war in Central America is to be averted. ■

Eldon Kenworthy teaches politics at Cornell University. For fuller treatment of these themes, see his "Central America: Beyond the Credibility Trap," *World Policy Journal* (November 1983).



LIFE IN THE U.S.

CHILDREN

Maternal care in Mississippi

By Joseph Delaney

HOLLY SPRINGS, MS—Pearlie will have her baby this spring, but she is not sure where it will be born.

The 24-year-old unemployed cook will try to give birth in Memphis, Tenn., 45 miles away from her Marshall County, Miss. home. But to make sure she gets into Memphis' E.H. Crump hospital, she will have to begin labor before she gets there and enter through the emergency room.

E.H. Crump, like many Memphis hospitals, won't see Mississippi patients except in emergency cases—such as being in labor—because Mississippi doesn't

adequately reimburse Tennessee for Medicaid patients or those who can't afford insurance.

One family doctor here in Marshall County delivers babies part-time in his office. But he isn't an obstetrician and he doesn't have the facilities to offer obstetrical services to all the women in the county.

Marshall County's one hospital doesn't provide obstetrical services to local women. A former hospital employee says these services aren't provided even though the hospital has received funds from the Hill-Burton program to do so. Hill-Burton funds are provided to hospitals for a promise to provide free or un-

compensated health services to poor patients. So most expecting mothers here must travel to Memphis or other towns to have babies. Jo Lynn Burns of the State Department of Health estimates that at least 100 women in recent months have left Marshall County for maternal services in other areas. Most of these women are black.

Benton County, 14 miles east of Holly Springs, has one local doctor and no hospital. The doctor works limited hours, county residents say, and doesn't see black patients. So residents here don't receive maternal care or much other health assistance. Women who are expecting children must travel almost 50 miles to the nearest hospital in New Albany.

"It is awful that these women have to drive so far," says Pat Cook, a public health nurse in Benton County. "With gas so expensive, some of them don't get to see the doctors as much as they should."

Traveling long distances to give birth increases health risks for mother and child, says a representative with the Mississippi Coalition for Mothers and Babies, a volunteer, non-profit organization dedicated to improving maternal care in the state.

Statistics show that a large number of Mississippi women

have trouble in childbirth. In Marshall County, for instance, 1982 figures show that out of 545 babies born that year 301 (55 percent) were born to mothers considered "at risk." In Benton County, out of 129 babies born that year, 72 (56 percent) were born to mothers at risk.

Elsewhere in Mississippi the maternal problem may not be as serious as it is in Marshall and Benton counties, but conditions are bad nonetheless. For instance, figures released by the Coalition show that one in 50 babies born in Mississippi dies before its first birthday. These figures also show that 51 percent of Mississippi babies are born to mothers who are at risk or who can be predicted to have complications at birth; 29 percent are born to mothers who get no prenatal care during the first critical months of their pregnancies; 33 percent are born in poverty—the highest rate in the nation; 26 percent are born to teenage mothers—the highest rate in the nation; 25 percent are born to mothers who are not married; and 40 percent are born to mothers who have not completed high school.

Predictably, poverty is a major problem in Benton and Marshall counties. In largely white Benton County, 14.1 percent of the work force is unemployed and 92 percent of the unemployed have no health insurance. Almost a quarter of the residents have incomes below poverty level. The county's per capita income is \$5,475, far below the national average of \$10,495.

Sixteen percent of the work force in predominantly black Marshall County is unemployed. As in Benton County, 92 percent of the unemployed here are uninsured. In Marshall County, 31.9 percent of the citizens have incomes below poverty level. The per capita income is \$4,860.

But in both counties, the truly poor are predominantly black and female, according to a 1981 survey by North Mississippi Rural Legal Services. The major source of income in both counties, according to the latest census data, is public assistance.

Poor prenatal care can't help but contribute to higher infant mortality rates. A study issued this winter by the Washington, D.C.-based Food Research and Action Center found that, nationally, the black infant mortality rate is nearly twice that of whites, and that black babies are twice as likely to be born at low birth weights, a sign of poor prenatal care and nutrition. In Mississippi, the study found that the percentage of non-white women receiving inadequate prenatal care rose between 1980 and 1982, from 6.1 percent to 6.8 percent. For white women, the percentage decreased from 2.5 percent in 1980 to 2.4 percent in 1982.

So Pearlle concerns herself with the risk she and her baby will face when she goes to E.H. Crump Hospital later this spring in labor.

"What scares me is I may have to go all the way to Memphis and there is no telling what will happen on the way. It scares me. Sometimes I think it could be a life or death matter. A woman could die during childbirth." ■ Joseph Delaney is a freelance writer and editor in Oxford, Miss.

Infant mortality is rising.

Gender Gap: Bella Abzug's Guide to Political Power for American Women

By Bella Abzug with Mim Kelber Houghton Mifflin, 257 pp., \$6.95

Why and How Women Will Elect the Next President

By Eleanor Smeal Harper and Row, 184 pp., \$6.95

By Joan Walsh

What feminist can think of Election Night 1980 without flinching? I watched the results with a friend on a six-foot TV screen in a Nowhere, New Mexico bar, moving cross-country to California, surrounded by some pretty happy cowboys and feeling personally vulnerable, politically irrelevant.

The horror wasn't just Reagan's victory, it was the defeat of women's rights defenders George McGovern and Birch Bayh, the victory of Right-to-Life Republicans Alfonse D'Amato and James Abdnor and, maybe worst of all, the smugness of the suddenly ascendant New Right groups, flexing their muscles for the TV cameras and claiming credit for the conservative, anti-feminist tidal wave that appeared to have swept the nation. California, where Alan Cranston had beaten back Republican tax rebel Paul Gann, seemed a political sanctuary and I couldn't wait to get there.

But the same election that appeared to set American feminism—and every other promising social movement—back decades also held the seeds of its revitalization, though that didn't show up before the TV cameras. When all the votes were counted, American women had resisted the Reagan tide in significant numbers, supporting the Republican president by 8 percent less than men, splitting their votes almost evenly between Reagan and Carter. With the added news that six million more women had cast votes than men, the trend became significant. It got a name—the gender gap—and the women's movement got a chance to reverse the conservative trend.

These two books by feminist leaders Eleanor Smeal and Bella Abzug try to examine the causes of the gender gap and, most important, predict how it can be channeled into a movement to defeat Reagan in November. Both do a better job at strategy than analysis, mainly because women's new voting patterns are currently engendering a whole industry of theory and speculation and no one has any definitive answers yet. Whether political strategies can direct such an unwieldy trend will be one of the more closely examined questions of this political season.

Saying the books don't quite explain the gap is not to say they lack statistics. Both are useful handbooks on the current polling data, marshaling all the evidence that women disapprove of Reagan's performance as president, don't like his economic program, fear his military buildup, want social service cuts restored. They note the widely reported 1982 election results, pointing out women's role in electing the Democratic governors of Texas, New York and Michigan and their strong support for Democrats across the board.

Each follows the conventional

INPRINT

WOMEN

wisdom and assigns the breadth of the gap to women's concern about Reagan's militarism and their skepticism about the success—and fairness—of his economic program (though both argue that women's rights issues widen the gap more than most analysts believe). And together they provide an encyclopedic list of the many ways current administration policies have hurt the interests of women, from its massive social service cuts to its Title IX apostasy to its arbitrary restrictions on the career advancement of military women. Scanning the debris, it's conceivable that some reactionary Reagan policy change has affected the life of every woman in the U.S.

While both books draw on the recent gender gap scholarship, neither is scholarly and both suffer and profit from that. Abzug and Smeal are charismatic and contentious leaders—Smeal is the former president of the National Organization for Women (NOW); Abzug is a three-term Democratic congresswoman and Senate candidate—and their books argue for their own politics. Smeal makes the case for non-ideological NOW-style feminism, Abzug for feminist liberalism.

Out on a limb.

Thus, Smeal's *Why and How* goes farthest out on a limb to link the gender gap with women's rights issues. The book's lead—and longest—chapter, "Women's Rights and the Gender Gap," challenges the analysts who find that ERA, abortion and economic equity issues have a negligible impact on women's voting. Smeal argues convincingly that women's experience of sex discrimination shapes the context of their political choices and accounts for the cross-class lines of the gap. It's also believable that the Reagan wing of the Republican Party's repudiation of its pro-ERA and reproductive freedom stands cost the party votes, given the majority support for both issues expressed in public opinion surveys.

Smeal is on less solid ground when she argues that despite almost equal support for women's rights among both sexes, the gender gap is demonstrably attributable to the fact that those issues guide women's votes more than men's. The role of women's issues in creating the conditions for the gap to emerge are undeniable, but it's not as quantifiable as Smeal and others would like it to be. Post-election studies that found women ERA supporters less likely to vote for Reagan than pro-ERA men have been contradicted by subsequent work, most notably that of Northwestern University professor Jane Mansbridge and CBS News Survey Director Kathleen Francovic.

The fine print on the cover calls the Smeal book "an election handbook"; inside she terms it "a call to action." It succeeds as both, often reading like the stirring fundraising letters she wrote as NOW president. Her electoral strategies, learned in NOW's am-

bitious, well-organized if ultimately unsuccessful ERA battle, will likely be instructive to women at all levels of political power, from the newly motivated volunteer to the seasoned officeholder.

But in its emphasis on the practical application of the gender gap, *Why and How* spends little time on its deeper causes and its broader implications. Smeal says little about the touchy possibility that women may have an innate aversion to Reagan's unjust domestic agenda and bellicose foreign policy. Many feminists have found a useful perspective on the gap in Carol Gilligan's influential *In a Different Voice*, which Smeal doesn't mention. Although not about the gender gap, Gilligan's work outlines a psychology of women, grounded in "an ethic of care," that would make them implacably resistant to the abstract and compassionless theories that shape the present administration's policies. I'd have liked to see Smeal address Gilligan directly.

And while she rightly resists the accusation that the women's movement is "an adjunct of the Democratic Party," as Reagan spokesperson Faith Ryan Whittlesley recently put it, she not-so-rightly refuses to examine the notion that women's stand on foreign policy, social spending and civil rights are making them a more natural left constituency. One sentence, "Feminists have been uncomfortable with the left, which is dominated by males who also ignore women's concerns and downgrade women's issues and status," suffices for analysis. It ignores the question of how an independent women's vote could realign the country's misshapen politics, as well as transform the power structure (if one exists) within the left.

Abzug, of course, is not at all timid about tying feminism and the gender gap to a larger political movement. The gap validates her lifelong liberalism, and the strength of her book is placing the women's movement in the context of broader efforts for social change—by labor and min-



Ken Friesione

What is this thing called gender gap?

orities—and the Reagan reaction to it.

From her days as a founder of Women Strike for Peace in the early '60s, Abzug has talked about the emergence of a women's vote—an anti-militarist, pro-social program bloc that would humanize politics. She finds support for her faith at every stage in the development of contemporary feminism, from the social welfare, anti-war stands the Democrats took in 1920 to attract new women voters, to the party's most forward-looking planks in its 1980 platform. And, against the media image of a

white, upper-middle-class, careerist movement, she argues for American feminism's inclusiveness—stressing the racial diversity at the landmark 1977 Houston conference, for instance, and pointing out often the organized women's movement efforts on behalf of poor and minority women.

Her insider's perspective on Democratic women's efforts to open up the party is revealing. The work done by groups like the National Women's Political Caucus (which she helped found) and others to win equal convention representation—and to run feminist delegates to fight for women's rights planks—put party women in a position to channel the gender gap this year. She also helps date the women's movement's political outrage—and resultant electoral fervor—to before the Reagan administration, recounting Democratic women's betrayal by Jimmy Carter, who promised them more than any president and may have delivered less. Interestingly, she attributes the debacle of Carter's Women's Advisory Committee—and her controversial firing as its head—to the committee's persistent criticism of the Carter administration's increasing conservatism—its social spending cuts and military buildup.

Like the Smeal book, Abzug's *Gender Gap*, written with her former congressional aide, Mim Kelber, argues that the long-term implication of the women's vote must be to elect more women to office. That will both advance a women's rights agenda, she believes, and a more equitable social order, since her personal experience as well as recent studies convince her that women politi-

cians of whatever party are more liberal and compassionate than their male counterparts. A chapter on women politicians, "Ms. Supercandidate," is a useful outline of her observations and opinions on successful women's electoral strategies.

But in the short term, the gender gap must defeat Ronald Reagan. To that end she recommends extensive voter registration and education, the current project of her organization, Women USA, and many other women's groups. Detailing the strategies used in a Women USA pilot project in the '82 elections, she recommends community-focused organizing on local women's issues in a combined campaign of polling, voter registration, education and turnout efforts. In California target areas, Women USA focused on women's economic problems. In Iowa, it identified strong concern about nuclear issues; in Kansas City, day care and battered women shelters. A post-election study concluded that "a mobilization effort organized around jobs and women's equality would find a receptive and responsive audience among all types of American women," and Abzug predicts that just such an effort mounted by women's groups can provide a "gender gap coalition" to defeat Reagan.

Together the two books amount to a fairly complete survey of 1984 feminist political strategy, its scope as well as its limits. Its limits are mostly due to everyone's inability to say much definitive about why women are voting differently right now. Unable to assess the weight of the many undeniably important factors that are causing the gender gap, it's difficult for women's groups to know where to concentrate in order to widen it—or for the Republicans to know how to close it.

Will the improved economy make upper- and middle-class Republican women—who now rate Reagan's performance 20 percent lower than similar men—return to their former affiliation based on economic interest? If so, a strategy that concentrates on registering and turning out poor and minority women—along with the rest of the rainbow coalition—is essential to maintain the gap. Or do disaffected Republican women represent the foundation of a new political alignment—after all, poor and minority women could be expected to dislike Reagan—and are they the group the women strategists should reach out to? Right now major women's organizations are doing both—they can't afford not to.

The success or failure of the various strategies Smeal and Abzug outline will probably reveal a lot about what's really going on in the mysterious voting chasm. If the strategies that proceed from their respective analyses, experience, research and intuition work in November, it will show that feminist leaders can articulate what women care about, why they vote and how these concerns of the national majority will shape American politics. If they don't, Election Night 1984 could rival 1980. Except that, with George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson, even California doesn't look so inviting. ■



Anne Ghory-Goodman

Right: Bella Abzug;
Above: Eleanor Smeal



FICTION

Piercy: The romance of American feminism

Fly Away Home
By Marge Piercy
Summit Books, 447 pp., \$16.95

By Rachel C. Kranz

As I was reading *Fly Away Home*, I had the odd feeling that I had recently read a book very much like it. Finally I realized what it was—*The Best Place to Be*, a pulp novel by the enormously popular Helen Van Slyke, whose work is so transcendently commercial that no drug-store bookstand would be without her.

Piercy is almost by definition a contradictory writer: a mass-market feminist who writes as a "radical," the mainstream chronicler of "alternative" politics. So I began to think the resemblance between her latest book and the mass "women's market" was not entirely accidental.

Fly Away Home is the story of Daria Walker, nee Porfirio, a 43-year-old wife, mother and author of cookbooks. Although she has a career of her own, she doesn't question that it should take second place to her husband's, nor does she look too closely into the family finances. But the discovery that her husband is having an affair with a younger woman provokes the related realization that much of the family income comes from his gentrifying—and occasionally arson-ridden—slum property. Daria must construct a new identity for herself, shedding both financial and emotional dependence on her husband.

The Best Place to Be also concerns a woman in her 40s who must come to terms with her husband's failings and her undue dependence on him. Sheila's husband dies, leaving her with a mountain of debts, requiring her to go back to work. Like Daria, Sheila must reconstruct her identity in the absence of its traditional prop—the unexamined social and financial security of a good provider.

Piercy's politics lead her to reveal what much of mass culture tries to hide. She allows Daria to have Italian working-class roots in East Boston, contact with a multi-racial community organization and a savvy divorced friend who reminds her that "half the women we know have gone through this." What is surprising is not Piercy's differences from the mass market, but her similarities to it. Both she and Van Slyke—and, to a growing extent, TV soap operas—deal with women in the process of constructing new identities. For the past several years, pulp market women have been worrying about careers as well as husbands, sex as well as marriage, identity as well as romance.

I supposed the marriage of the two genres—"serious" literary feminist novels and best-selling "women's books"—was consummated in 1977 with the publication of Marilyn French's *The Women's Room*. French's book had an uncompromising feminist perspective and was informed by a wider political awareness, but it also read like the pulp equivalent of soap opera: lots of women characters with interweaving stories, accessible lan-

She deserves credit for bringing feminist issues into mainstream publishing.

guage, gripping plots—the kind of book in which you lose yourself. From the opposite side of the market came Judith Krantz's *Scruples* in 1978, whose heroines reveled in minutely described food, clothes and exotic locales, but who gave at least as much attention to their pursuits of successful careers as to their quests for men. Krantz's heroines were also concerned—as is Piercy's Daria—with sexual liberation. Harlequin romances might stick with the traditional romanticized passivity of "He swept me off my feet and into a cloud of passion," but Krantz's women explored their sexuality as an active choice running counter to society's restrictions on women, a heterosexual but still rebellious view of the erotic as power.

Where does Marge Piercy fit into this? Well, in 1973 she wrote *Small Changes*, the first commercially distributed novel to deal directly with the women's movement from a feminist point of view. She deserves credit for bringing feminist issues into mainstream publishing. She followed that act with *Women on the Edge of Time*'s feminist utopia, *The High Cost of Living*'s lesbian and class politics, *Vida*'s radical underground, *Braided Lives*' feminist re-telling of the '50s. Each of these books seemed the only one of its kind when it came out. With a few exceptions, only Piercy seemed to be writing for commercial distribution about feminist and left politics from "the movement's" point of view.

Piercy's isolation within the commercial market gave her a special, but difficult relationship to those of us who identified with the movements she chronicled. We were grateful to her for giving us and our concerns some mainstream visibility, but there was always something she wasn't doing, some point she had left out. (The lesbian audience was particularly critical of *High Cost*, for example.)

Piercy has helped widen the

Marge Piercy

boundaries of what is considered commercially acceptable, and she pushes those boundaries still further in *Fly Away Home*. Daria isn't just concerned with developing her own identity, she has to discover how her comfortable lifestyle in Lexington has been paid for by the burned-out buildings of black, Hispanic and white working-class families in Allston and East Boston. Daria's identity is shaped by class and ethnicity as well as by the more acceptable themes of love and work. *Fly Away Home* gives a central place to the economics of arson and gentrification, the dynamics of neighborhood organizing, the price of class mobility—all topics that both commercial and high culture in the U.S. tend to ignore.

But while Piercy is challenging commercial clichés on the one hand, she has succumbed to them on the other. Both Van Slyke and Piercy idealize their all-loving, all-giving heroines, a staple of pulp fiction, but a surprising image for Piercy, whose Daria seems to employ none of the subtle power games by which real-life self-sacrificing women get some of their own back. Both Van Slyke and Piercy portray the pain of wives' victimization—again, a pulp cliché—but Piercy could have shown further the ways women are driven to participate in their own victimization, the internal costs of anger denied, the impact of the mother's oppression on her daughters.

I was especially dismayed at Piercy's taking sides with Daria so wholeheartedly against Robin, her ambitious, anorexic daughter. Piercy condemns Robin in supposedly feminist terms: she wants to make it in the business world; she prefers her father to her mother; she is as ruthless and driven as a man. But I couldn't help feeling that for Piercy, Robin's real crime was simply being ambitious in the first place. Piercy never explores the connection between Robin's conscious commitment to a career and Daria's insistence that her own success is accidental. Nor does Piercy ask why Robin might not want to be like her

mother. Instead, she creates a feminist version of a soap-opera villainess committing crimes of ambition instead of passion, but still rebelling against "the good mother." Considering the rich, complex portrait of Daria's own mother, Nina, I expected more.

Piercy's romance likewise draws on mass-market conventions. Just as Van Slyke's Sheila finds a wonderful new husband, so does Daria find the perfect man—single, sensitive, a good lover and politically correct. No male power games here! Nor does Daria seem to bear any lasting scars from her years of subservience. Is it really so easy to become a feminist—and to have so much fun doing it? Piercy draws further on convention when she makes sure we know that several other women wanted Daria's lover, but only our heroine was woman enough to land him.

These flaws are at least partly due to Piercy's admirable attempt to present an unorthodox message in a conventional format, a combination both political and mainstream critics must find troubling. Many of the latter will surely find Piercy's portrayal of Daria's husband unbelievable, finding it "unrealistic" that a husband of 22 years would abandon his wife and children in financial need. Unfortunately, that part of the story is all too true, as many "real-life" wives could attest. They could probably also tell you how hard it was for them to grasp the truth of their own situations, because what was happening was the exact opposite of what everything in the culture had led them to believe.

Ultimately, it is important that Piercy has written *Fly Away Home* and published it with a commercial press; for all its shortcomings, this is a book that tells a story that is too rarely told with truth. By telling it in such an accessible fashion, Piercy gives language to an experience that is all too often suppressed. ■

Rachel Kranz is a fiction writer and is on the organizing committee of the Columbia University Local District 65/UAW, a clerical workers' union.

FLY
AWAY
HOME
A NOVEL BY
MARGE
PIERCY

By Lynn Garafola

It takes courage for a successful 40-plus choreographer to strike out in new directions. Even if you're Twyla Tharp, the most inventive dancemaker working in America today, innovation is a risky business with a company of 16 under your wing.

Twyla Tharp's three-week season this January at the Brooklyn Academy of Music (BAM) was far and away the most exciting dance event of recent months. It brought to BAM, Tharp's home base, a company of superbly schooled virtuosos and three programs of works that displayed Tharp's many-splendored talent and new artistic maturity. At 42, she stands at the forefront of today's choreographers.

Woven into the texture of her work are influences as wide-ranging as the spectrum of American dance itself. A child of the '60s, she made her debut in the post-modernist ferment, exploring in college gyms and parks the combinations and recombinations of simple and complex movement. The concern for structure—minute, intensely patterned repetitions, retrogressions, reversals—left a permanent mark on her style.

In 1970, according to her recently televised *Scrapbook Tape*, Tharp discovered Jelly Roll Morton and acquired her first video camera. Tharp took to video with gusto; *Making Television Dance*, *Confessions of a Corner Maker* and *Scrapbook Tape* are witty, inventive programs about herself, her dancers and her choreography. More effectively than any other dancemaker, Tharp has used television to create a national public for her work.

Ragtime struck an imaginative mother lode. Beginning with *Eight Jelly Rolls*, choreographed in 1971, Tharp turned again and again to the American vernacular, creating a score of sparkling dances to rock, rag and popular music. With four of these "ballroom" works on display, the BAM season offered a mini-retrospective of her romance with the genre, a romance as endearing to audiences as to Tharp herself.

From yesterday's jazzmen and crooners—Morton, Fats Waller (*Sue's Leg*), Willie "The Lion" Smith (*Baker's Dozen*), Frank Sinatra (*Nine Sinatra Songs*)—come that throwaway casualness-cum-virtuosity so recognizably American in her work, those suggestions of character and relationship that charge her formalism with emotion. And in the understated stylishness of these productions, Tharp evokes the supper-club glamor of an older time without succumbing to nostalgia.

Few choreographers have Tharp's eye for the incongruous, her sense of the absurd in human behavior. Airily, she juxtaposes private fantasy and public role playing: mocking the conventions of partnering, she lampoons social and sexual mores. The *gaucherie* of her lovesick spooners, woozy vamps, clowns (Tharp's own favorite persona) and Casanovas is always winsome, and her inventiveness as they clamber, sweep and drift over one another is never labored.

That's life.

Of the four new works that had their premiere this season, *Nine Sinatra Songs* pleased audiences most. Danced with verve by eight couples in tuxes and stunning

gowns by Oscar de la Renta, these sparkling vignettes, based on six ballroom dances, glow with romance and waggish irony. (As Sinatra croons, "That's Life," the sexes battle it out in a showstopping "Apache" duet.) Seamless in construction, dazzling in its virtuosity and inventiveness, *Nine Sinatra Songs* revealed Tharp's newfound artistic maturity, deriving, at least in part, from ballet.

Since 1973, when she "customized" *Deuce Coup* for the Joffrey Ballet, Tharp has staged nearly a dozen works for ballet companies and performers. This exposure to the classical dance, and particularly her collaborations with Mikhail Baryshnikov in the late '70s, marked a turning

point in her development. Grafting the language of ballet—elegant, precise, historically resonant—with her own high-voltage, structured idiom, Tharp has rid her work of stylistic quirks while enlarging both the palette and canvas of her art.

Still, *Telemann*, her new venture, comes as a surprise. Here, Tharp has staged for six of her dancers a rigorous, plotless exercise in ballet's most academic style.

Telemann is not a great ballet. Its patterns, particularly in the adagio, evoke few images. Nor have Tharp's dancers, versed though they are in the technique of ballet, fully mastered its stylistic nuances. (The women, for instance, do not dance on *pointe*.)

She juxtaposes private fantasy and public role playing; mocking the conventions of partnering, she lampoons social and sexual mores.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

DANCE



But one admires more than the fearlessness of the choreographer: the speed and energized footwork, sudden directional changes, combination of classical and non-balletic arms betray her schooling in the best American tradition of George Balanchine.

Fait Accompli and *Bad Smells*, the season's other new works, reveal still another side of Tharp's maturing artistry. In these plotless ensemble works, set to driving scores by David Van Tieghem and Glenn Branca, one discerns the fierce expressionism and existential concerns of European choreographers like Pina Bausch, previously absent from Tharp's imaginative universe.

In *Fait Accompli*, Tharp has created a punk rite of spring, a teen mating game of savage urgency. Four rows of balls across the upper quarter of the stage vault her high-tech gym. Under them, the company's 16 dancers lash at the stage, frenzied bands in unisex tunics and shorts, washed at unexpected moments (thanks to Jennifer Tipton's lighting) by a kind of naive, rapt sensuousness. For herself, Tharp has choreographed several duets, where, except for a ballet parody that could be cut, she explores with sustained seriousness the sexual play mocked in other works.

Bad Smells goes beyond the dark, menacing teen world, invoking the terror of a race brutalized by what—holocaust, war, the bomb? Tharp doesn't say. In tatters, their heads bandaged, her seven dancers explode in frenzied spasms, twitching, trembling across the bare stage. A cameraman in pressed fatigues stalks them, shoving his camera

John Carrafa and Sara Rudner in *NINE SINATRA SONGS*.

over, under and around their bodies. On an overhead screen, the sinewy tendons and Mardi Gras faces seen by the lens appear in instant replay—images shorn of reality, distorted by the cool uninvolved eye.

Many of Tharp's dancers have been with the company for years and it shows. The ensemble work is letter perfect, and there is a harmony of style that brings out every nuance of the choreography. Tharp, for her part, shows her dancers to advantage. Even in group work, they remain individuals who bring exciting personalities to the stage—one recalls with pleasure Jennifer Way's elegance and speed, Shelley Washington's fearless leaps, Sara Rudner's sultry smoothness, Shelley Freydon't's cool classicism.

Unlike many male choreographers, Tharp does not fling her women around the stage like sacks of flour; or sculpt them like putty into distorted poses; or ask them to do the kinds of steps that look best on men. Rather, she has evolved a gender vocabulary that never neuter her dancers but takes them beyond their traditional roles.

After leaving BAM, Twyla Tharp Dance goes on tour (see major city dates below). This is one of the best companies around. Don't miss it. ■

Scheduled performances include: Madison, Wis., March 23-24; Milwaukee, Wis., March 27-28; Ames, Iowa, March 30-31; Minneapolis, Minn., April 9-15; Englewood, NJ, April 26.

Lynn Garafola is writing a study of Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*.

Futrell

Continued from page 13

Under pressure from the U.S. Department of Labor—which argued that quotas violate a federal law saying all members must have an equal chance to run for union office—NEA later abandoned formal quotas, but maintains minority leadership development and affirmative action programs.

Labor Department elections chief Fred Heitmann, who pressed the government's case against NEA, says he "felt their system was like having separate white and black drinking fountains" and feared that it would "set up a separate minority officer group who would have no real power in the association's politics." NEA officials argue that quotas provided essential safeguards for minority teachers, when they abandoned their independent black education groups to merge with the NEA.

Today, NEA is the only major labor organization in which blacks form a larger percentage of the leadership than the membership. Only 7.4 percent of NEA members are black, yet blacks held 14 percent of the seats at the most recent convention, and one-third of national executive board posts.

Futrell was one of the few blacks at her first VEA convention in the late '60s. "For years we lost" on every contested

issue, she said. "It was heartbreaking to know that you had a legitimate concern and nobody wanted to listen, that you were part of an organization where your concerns were being ignored and that you as an individual were being rejected." Gradually, in part due to pressure from the national organization for inclusion of more black teachers in NEA decision making, the state organization changed.

Futrell left the classroom for the first time in 1976, to begin a three-year stint as VEA president. Upon returning to the classroom, she ran successfully for a "minority seat" on the NEA board of directors and took on a series of volunteer assignments representing the association in civil rights, women's rights and education groups.

She speaks candidly about the strains her NEA involvement have sometimes placed on her marriage of six years to fellow Alexandria teacher Donald Futrell. "My husband was and still is very macho, and we used to have fights about the role of a woman and the role of a man," she says. "Sometimes he swears that I am trying to turn him into a house husband. He had to take more responsibilities around the home. My point to him is that you are a stronger man than you were before because you're strong enough so that you can deal with this aspect of our marriage."

Characteristically, Futrell ties women's rights to her role as a teacher. "Most of my students are black girls," she says. "I teach about being a woman and being a black woman in today's society and being

able to stand up for yourself and survive and cope. I guess that if some people knew the kinds of things I taught my students, they might call me on the carpet. But I am willing to take that risk."

Some labor movement critics ask how much power she actually wields inside the NEA. They point out that under NEA's unique separation of powers system, an appointed executive director, not the president, supervises the association's 550-person staff and has day-to-day authority over spending from its \$80 million annual budget. One anti-Shanker dissident leader within the AFT said that he admires NEA's stance on affirmative action and many other issues, but dislikes its bureaucratic structures.

NEA officials insist that the staff merely carries out policies adopted at the annual convention by the group's elected teacher leaders. For the past decade, however, outgoing NEA executive director Terry Herndon was the group's most visible and forceful official, in part because he served far longer than any NEA president. Futrell and other NEA officials insist that she—not Herndon's successor, Don Cameron—will be the group's chief policymaker during her two-year term.

Tremendously popular with teachers, Futrell faced no opposition in her race for the \$71,000 a year job as NEA president. Indeed, some NEA staff members started introducing her as "our next president" months before the actual election.

But a strong following among fellow teachers is no longer enough to ensure

success for an NEA president, and Futrell's leadership skills will be fully tested. Her adversary, AFT leader Shanker, is by far the nation's best-known teacher leader. Futrell still has some distance to go in challenging him for that status. To do so, she must project her dedication to quality education to the national audience of parents and others concerned about the condition of our schools. If she succeeds, Futrell will emerge as one of the most important leaders in the NEA's 126-year history—and as a significant force on the national scene.

With research assistance by Jonathan Askin. A version of this article first appeared in the October 1983 issue of *Black Enterprise* magazine. (The Earl G. Graves Publishing Co., Inc., 295 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10017. All rights reserved.)

CALENDAR

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LOS ANGELES, CA

March 23

Seeing Red, the Academy-Award nominated documentary premiers in Los Angeles as a benefit for DSA at the Fox International Theater, 620 Lincoln Blvd., Venice, at 8:00 p.m. Tickets \$7.50 in advance; \$10 at the door. Gala champagne reception with filmmaker Julia Reichert and Dorothy Healey, \$20. Information available from DSA, 2936 West 8th St., Los Angeles, CA 90005; Telephone (213) 385-0650.

NEW YORK, NY

March 26

The Third Annual Stanley Plastrik Memorial Lecture. Irving Howe will speak on "Why Has Socialism in America Failed?" CUNY Graduate Center, 33 W. 42nd St., downstairs auditorium. 8:00 p.m. Admission free.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

March 29

Film "America—from Hitler to MX," showing one day only. Award-winning feature documentary, called "the most powerful antinuclear documentary yet produced" (*Time Out*, London). Uptown Theater, 2906 Hennepin Ave. Shows: Thursday, March 29, 5:40 & 9:20 p.m. Tickets: \$3.50. Phone: 825-4644. Distributed by Parallel Films, 314 West 91st St., New York, NY 10024. (212) 580-3888.

CHICAGO, IL

March 30

A benefit to raise money for a threatened Salvadoran family. Classical pianist Frank Abinnanti will play his original composition "Sandinista." Includes other music by Miguel Muroz and Walter Urroz as well as poetry by Renny Golden and others. 8:00 p.m., McCormick Lounge, Mundelein College, 6364 N. Sheridan. Donation: \$6.00 at door, \$5.00 in advance, \$3.00 for students, seniors, Central Americans. Reservations: 663-4398. Sponsored by the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America.

April 5

PSR/Chicago's April chapter meeting: a special showing of *Weapons in Space*, a national teleconference organized by the Union of Concerned Scientists. 6:30-9:00 p.m., Flanner Auditorium, Loyola University Lakeshore Campus. Panelists include: Dr. Carl Sagan, Dr. Richard Garwin, Admiral Noel Gayler and Dr. Henry Kendall. Call 663-1777 for more information.

April 8

Chicago DSA meeting will feature *The Last Pullman Car*, a film about the closing of Chicago's Pullman plant given three stars by the *Reader* and *Chicago Tribune*. "A powerful and revolutionary film" (Studs Terkel). At St. Nicolai's Church, 3014 N. Kedzie, 7:00 p.m. \$3 donation requested. Childcare. Refreshments will follow.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

March 30

Dorothy Healey, longtime radical activist, makes her Washington debut in a debate with Michael Parenti, author of *Democracy for the Few*, on "The U.S. Left and the Soviet Union." March 30 at 7:00 p.m., Machinists Hall, 1300 Connecticut N.W. \$3 donation (\$1 fixed income, unemployed). Sponsored by D.C./Maryland DSA.

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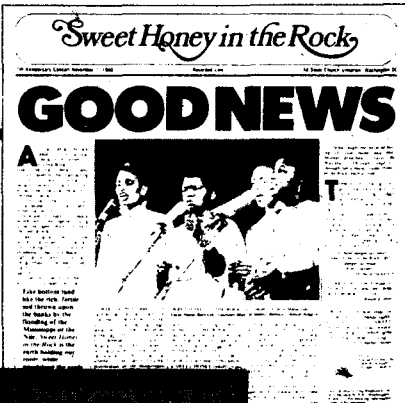
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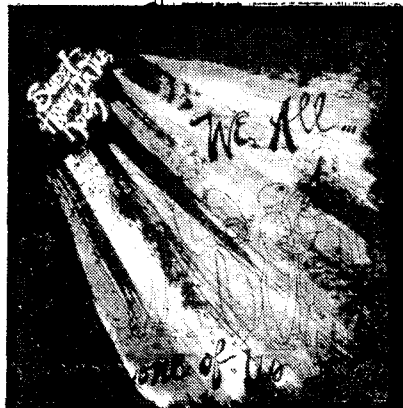


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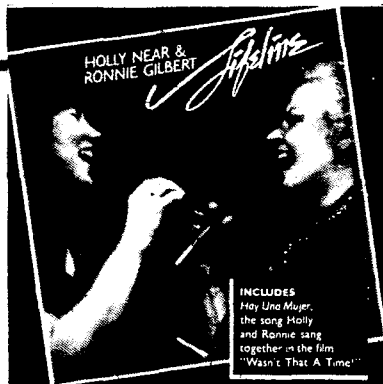
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Marsh

Continued from page 24

Not just in politics, but in human terms. It makes it so hard to get things organized.

"Given the sort of organized mass force that rock could call," he added, "it's a shame that something like Artists Call [a recent protest against U.S. intervention in Central America organized largely by visual artists] didn't come out of rock too."

Rock & Roll Confidential.

With his newsletter *Rock & Roll Confidential*, Marsh hopes to lay some groundwork for turning the vast, restless rock-'n'-roll masses into a potent social force—a noisy pressure group standing up for peace, justice, popular culture and their own rights.

"Rock reaches people about things they don't think they want to know about," he said. "People in the U.S. have no political education. But it's amazing how much you can say in a song and how much they want to know." Marsh toyed for a long time with the idea of somehow directly addressing rock's political possibilities. Then he met Lee Ballinger, a steelworker (and frequent *In These Times* contributor) who put out *In Your Face*, an indignant newsletter for sports fans that combined the best qualities of *Sports Illustrated* and picket-line pamphlets.

The idea for a rock-'n'-roll version of *In Your Face* was inevitable. They unleashed the first issue last May with four pages of music news and fiery opinion. *Rock &*

Roll Confidential now runs eight pages a month and hits 3,000 subscribers in all 50 states—mostly zealous fans, record company underlings, disc jockeys and music press writers.

"That's been our clearest success," Marsh said, "a lot people in the business have linked arms with us in discreet ways."

Rock & Roll Confidential staples include strident attacks on rock stars who perform in South Africa, record company efforts to curtail home taping of music, the Reagan administration, the dearth of black and Latin artists on MTV, and the myopic vision of most FM radio programmers. It pushes a variety of causes, ranging from disarmament projects to hot new bands to efforts aimed at beefing up reading programs in public schools.

A good portion of the paper is turned over to readers' comments. A recent controversy was Marsh's review of Bob Dylan's album *Infidels*. After a few lines of praise for the record's musical energy, Marsh went on to say, "*Infidels* represents a clearer and more adamant statement of Dylan's right-wing diabolism.... In 'Neighborhood Bully' he's created a statement of Zionist frenzy so self-righteous that it might make Norman Podhoretz cringe.... Even worse is 'Union Sundown.' I tried to convince myself that any song containing the line 'Capitalism is a crime' can't be all bad...[but] 'Union Sundown' essentially argues that the very idea of labor unions is the root of the problem—that American workers ought to take what they are given by their 'betters' in management."

Dylan fans fired back different interpretations of "Union Sundown," arguing that the song targeted right-wing

union chiefs like the Teamsters' Jackie Presser. Marsh held his ground, pointing to an interview with Dylan in the *Los Angeles Times* that seemed to hint at a right-wing shift in the singer's politics. But all in all, the episode made for an enlightening, refreshing and all-too-rare two-way street in American arts criticism.

"*Rock & Roll Confidential* doesn't pay the rent," Marsh admitted. "But it ends my isolation."

The politics of dancing.

By paying scrupulous attention to what was once dismissed as just the background music to teenagers' tribal tribulations, Marsh, 33, has become a best-selling author, influential cultural critic and—now—a political rabble-rouser. He may turn out to be the I.F. Stone of rock-'n'-roll, hammering away at the greed of music biz powerbrokers. Or, an electrified version of Edmund Wilson, passionately and thoroughly plunging to the soul of a work—probing its aesthetic qualities as well as bringing to light significant historical and social factors.

"This is a glorious time for music," Marsh said. "People have this sense that nothing is going on. But there's so much in so many places, from Jackson Browne to Grandmaster Flash. The Pretenders album is classic. The U2 live album is great. They are everything I stand for—the music, the idea of peace. A heavy metal band like Krokus is attacking the rich. A country singer like John Anderson sings about farm people losing their land."

"People say we need the '60s back," he continued. "Well, the '60s were nothing like this. You didn't know where musicians stood. There wasn't U2. There was nothing like the Clash."

He recalled that The Who's Pete Townshend recorded recruiting ads for the U.S. Air Force during the Vietnam war, and that John Lennon's song "Give Peace a Chance" surprised many in the antiwar movement because they had never expected aid and comfort from a Beatle.

The punk rebellion of the late '70s helped send rock-'n'-roll down a more political path, although, unlike in Britain—with its politically-charged music press and tradition of working-class solidarity—in the U.S., punk's angry energy was siphoned off by fashion-mongers. And it also promoted nihilism, avant-gardism and elitism, Marsh believes. "This idea that new wave music is the only thing that matters, that Western intelligentsia music is all that's cool—that's really going against the grain of rock-'n'-roll."

"Many of the purveyors of punk had high-art ambitions, and were hostile to rock's place as a mass culture medium."

Marsh stresses constantly that rock-'n'-roll's nitty-gritty working-class spirit is what makes it so compelling to listeners from around the world. He's one of the few well-known critics that pays attention to factory-town favorites like Quiet Riot, Krokus or other heavy metal bands.

"Rock-'n'-roll is a voice for people who have no other voice," he said. And he offers his own experience.

"I grew up in Pontiac, Mich., in the racist neighborhood where the school bus bombings took place. But I heard Smokey Robinson and the Miracles on the radio. I knew all that racism people told me about was bullshit."

"I thought the whole civil rights movement in the '60s came from people who had heard Smokey Robinson and said there can be no way blacks are inferior."

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ROCK 'N' ROLL

had nothing; rock lent us a sense that we could have it all."

Give peace a chance.

Marsh also believes that rock'n'roll can help save four billion lives. When I interviewed him at Chicago's Peace Museum just before he toured the "Give Peace a Chance" exhibit, he noted, "There used to be an old show business expression that if you want to send a message, call Western Union. One thing rock'n'roll is about is doing away with those old myths. Music can make you look at the

By Jay Walljasper

"I BELIEVE ROCK'N'ROLL HAS saved lives..." writes Dave Marsh in the introduction to his best-selling biography of Bruce Springsteen, *Born to Run*. And he means it—it's not the hype dashed off by rock critics in a rush of post-concert frenzy. Marsh—a longtime *Rolling Stone* writer, syndicated record reviewer and publisher of a newsletter on music and politics—doesn't with snap judgments.

"When Bruce speaks of rock reaching down into homes without culture to tell kids there is another way to live," he adds in the Springsteen book's introduction, "I understand it personally. If this book succeeds, it's because it takes measure of the life of a bus driver's son (like Bruce Springsteen)—or a railroad brakeman's son (like myself) or perhaps your own life—and spells out something of what rock'n'roll has given to them. We

world in another way."

With a microphone hanging from his shirt collar and a video crew on his heels, Marsh explored the exhibit, commenting on displays that linked peace causes and musicians—from Woody Guthrie and Joan Baez on through Bob Marley and the Clash.

"It's kinetic," he said later. "Passionate. And it wasn't just sectarian—not just the old New Left and folk music. Steve Wonder was there; U2 was there. It's a confirmation of everything we've been saying."

Although his faith in the possibilities of rock'n'roll is unshakeable, Marsh is no Pollyanna preaching the message that the *Billboard* Hot 100 will save the world. As Marsh sees it, the crude economic decisions that govern the music business "make both the performers and the listeners atomized and disconnected."

Continued on page 23

CONSCIENCE

Photograph: Paul Comstock

Critic Dave Marsh tries to keep an industry honest.